EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK

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EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK

BY

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FOREWORD

THE present transition stage of education and training for social work promises to be only less significant than the inauguration of systematic training in this field by the establishment of several schools for the purpose about eighteen years ago. Among the conditions which have given rise to this situation and thereby have occasioned the following study and report, two may be mentioned.

During the recent World War social work in this country underwent a great and sudden expansion. The American Red Cross instead of devoting itself chiefly to emergencies or to relief demanded by sudden catastrophe, undertook a comprehensive service of aid and counsel for families of men in the Army and Navy. New types of disease such as the war neuroses called for new types of training and service. The demand was imperative for workers of many kinds and provision had to be made for the emergency. Special schools and institutes were organized. There was a general unsettling of fairly well-established standards.

Meanwhile new agencies were offering more or less extended courses in preparation for social work. The original schools were established in

large cities and in close connection with philanthropic agencies. They were not the outgrowth of academic expansion. But during recent years the growth of the social science departments in colleges and universities, especially in state universities, has had as one feature the development of courses which aim at least to supply a background and basis and in some cases to offer practical training in the field of our study.

Partly perhaps in consequence of these changed conditions, various schools for the training of social workers began to consider the need of clarifying views and of improving methods through conference and discussion. Questions which thus arose seemed to suggest that the time was opportune for a study of the situation, and the Russell Sage Foundation was invited by the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work to provide for such an inquiry. The Foundation agreed to do so and asked the author of this report to make the study. He began the work in the autumn of 1920 and continued to carry it on until the close of 1921. The report does not attempt to evaluate or criticize individual institutions. It aims rather to discuss the problem of education and training, and leaves to the various schools and their friends the question of deriving suggestions for their own problems. And within the field thus marked out the aim and plan have been restricted by the time that could be spared to this study from other duties. It seemed wiser,

therefore, to select for consideration certain important problems, than to attempt a comprehensive survey. Many, though by no means all, of the institutions which offer preparation for social work were visited; many individuals were consulted, and the report has profited by their wisdom and experience.

I am under obligations to so many who have given liberally of their time and counsel that I hesitate to single out any for personal mention. I must content myself with a general acknowledgment of the great cordiality and generous cooperation shown by all with whom I was able to confer—the General Director and staff of the Russell Sage Foundation, officers and teachers in the schools, leaders in various lines of social work, colleagues in colleges and universities.

JAMES H. TUFTS.

December, 1922.

SUMMARY

THE study is divided into two parts: Part I, The Field of Social Work; Part II, Problems of Education and Training. The outstanding issue in the two parts is one, although it is differently formulated. Stated in terms of the field in Part I, the issue is: Accepting as fairly well defined a considerable central group of activities, how far may social work wisely extend to various specified border fields, and, more important, how deep shall it go in its exploration and its methods of treatment or prevention? Stated in terms of education and training, in Part II, the issue is: Accepting as undoubtedly necessary a certain type of training for the fairly well-defined agencies of relief, aid, and administration or oversight, shall the institutions engaged in giving preparation stop with this conception of their task, or shall they aim at so broad and thorough an education and training for at least a minority of their pupils as shall fit them for the larger and profounder tasks which may be conceived under the analogy of social engineering or social statesmanship? Shall they undertake study of the fundamental forces of human life, of the ultimate values of human welfare, and of the great institutions of

human society in order to meet that larger responsibility which no other profession than social work at present seems to accept?

Many specific problems are given consideration, but they are believed to be in nearly every case subordinate to this central issue. In the long run, the recruiting of the profession, the relation of schools to universities, entrance requirements, the length and nature of the curriculum, methods of instruction and of practice work, the administration of fellowships, all involve the main question.

An appendix to the body of the report presents certain statistics which indicate what salaries are now being paid in typical departments of social work, and how far both college education and later professional study are likely to receive recognition in terms of salaries.

A second appendix presents registration statistics from institutions which offer preparation for social work.

PART I

THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK

I

FIVE POSSIBLE METHODS OF DEFINING THE FIELD

DEFINITIONS no longer have the same significance in science as in the days when "essences" were fixed stars in the firmament, and species, like orderly cattle, were guaranteed to stay within their fenced-off areas. In those days, to define by genus and differentia was satisfying to the logical mind. But with a changing world and changing species, as the outstanding facts in our limited field of experience, the tendency now is to regard definitions as merely working hypotheses which may be useful as tools for analysis but make no claim to finality, or to fix once for all the limits of a science. Older psychologies used to define the field of their subject as the science of the soul, or of consciousness. This would not shed much light on present activities of the psychologists. Sociologists have devoted much effort to marking off their boundaries, without reaching complete agreement. If any of the definitions of sociology at first proposed had been taken as a shibboleth, many sociologists would ere this have been slain at the fords of the Jordan. The psychologists have been expanding their activities; the sociologists have perhaps concentrated. But

in both cases expansion or selection has come because of a task in sight which was not being performed by any other scientific group, and which bore at least some relation to the equipment of the psychologist and sociologist.

The field of social work[1] is notoriously broad and changing. It may well be doubted whether any definition which aims to single out the essence of social work will be satisfactory to all social workers. It is possible that by noticing several different ways of defining social work we may find help for the specific purpose in hand, which is to forecast, as clearly as we may, *for what task or tasks we shall educate and train.* Not even the institutions which give education and training—much less an observer from another profession—can prescribe authoritatively to social workers what they shall do. They will do what they—the people on the job—believe needs to be done, in so far as it seems to lie reasonably near them and within their powers.[2]

The motive in noticing the following ways of defining the field is then solely the pragmatic one of

[1] The term "social work" is in many respects unfortunate. Other terms have been proposed, and some are in use by the schools; for example, social administration, social service administration, social engineering, social economy. But none of these other designations is so generally in use as "social work," and this term will be used in default of a better.

[2] The recent survey of the history of the settlement movement, The Settlement Horizon, by Woods and Kennedy, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, presents an impressive picture of a continuous discovery of new social needs and a continuous devising of methods to meet them.

throwing light on the question, "What education and training are needed?" The first and second definitions are based, the one upon the motive and the class reached, the other partly upon the aim and partly on methods employed. The third emphasizes the growing character of the field; the fourth the variety of present activities of social workers; the fifth the relation of social work to the great institutions through which man has aimed to embody and secure his interests, and thus to make more definite the several elements of human welfare. This fifth way of regarding the field is then used somewhat more specifically as a basis for considering which of the various activities now carried on by social workers should be reckoned with in a program of education and training, and what should be the aim and scope of this program.

1. THE FIELD DEFINED AS THAT OF AIDING CERTAIN DISADVANTAGED CLASSES

The first analysis of the field of social work which we shall mention would emphasize its function as serving a particular class of persons, namely, those who are poor, or ill, or defective, or perverse in character, or otherwise disadvantaged. This definition would lay emphasis not on a particular science or technique of social work, but rather upon the fact that it employs a variety of techniques, and elements, at least, of several sciences and crafts, in dealing with the poor, the young, the wayward, the ignorant, the immigrant of foreign speech. There

is much to make this plausible. The children of the rich are often ill-nourished, but the social worker has not often made a practice of including them in her calling list; there are broken homes among the well-to-do, but the social worker does not ordinarily conceive it her mission to go primarily to the occupations in life which stand highest in the list of divorces. A large part of social work has been with the people who for one reason or another have been below normal in their economic condition.

The definition of social work as serving the submerged or delinquent hardly fits, however, the great field of rural social work now beginning to open. The county agricultural agent and his colleagues of the Farm Bureau organization do not consider that they are dealing with exceptional cases. In fact they may express this by saying, "We have no cases in the country; we have just folks." The country-life movement originated not through social workers, but through men like Dean Bailey, President Butterfield, and others engaged in agricultural education. There are, of course, individual families in the country which suffer from illness, poverty, or delinquency, and therefore make the same requirements for help as similarly situated families in the city. But the larger and more promising field of the country-life movement is not with these exceptional families or individuals.

It may indeed be said that the very existence of a country-life movement shows that all is not well

with the country. The obvious facts that the cities attract the ablest young people, and that the prizes in our civilization seem to be found in the office or the court room or the shop, rather than on the farm, are all the evidence needed. But admitting that rural life is less attractive than city life, the remedies are being worked out largely through self-help. The situation is in this respect similar to that of the Labor Union movement. Should it then be regarded as social work? It is at any rate social engineering. And when a home demonstration agent of the Farm Bureau takes up with the mothers of her community the matter of the nutrition of children, she is doing the same kind of work, so far as the process is concerned, as the social worker in a city. But in the one case she is engaged by those she aids, as they would engage an agricultural adviser; in the other case she is engaged by other parties than those aided. It may, if we please, be called social work in both cases, but the point is that if it is social work when a group consult an expert whom they engage, we cannot properly define social work as work for disadvantaged classes. And it may be added that some social workers cherish the hope that the time may come when the social worker in various lines may be consulted as an expert in difficult family or individual problems by rich as well as by poor.

What is true of a rural community is also more or less true in quite different application of the tendency in employment management. A type of so-

cial work developed in factories and offices, called welfare work, did seem to be an expression of a kindly spirit toward employes. Nurses, recreation leaders, and even family visitors were included under this department. But the suspicion expressed by organized labor with regard to all such activities has led to the restriction of development here. On the other hand, the present tendency is toward a development of employment management as a type of engineering, based, however, upon regard to human elements of efficient and harmonious operation rather than upon the mechanical phases of industry. Undoubtedly some who enter this work are attracted by it because of the belief that they may in this perform a distinct social service. But the point of view from which this work is conceived is not that of helping a class or an individual except as part of a large social situation. The point of view is rather that friction between employer and employed is a matter of the highest concern and that to minimize this friction and any other maladjustment of worker and job is an opportunity for both intelligence and technical skill which is comparable with that of other professions. If the attitude is that of helping a disadvantaged class the work is not likely to succeed. Those engaged in this profession are in fact very dubious as to whether they wish to be counted among social workers for fear that such placing would convey a wrong impression. It is quite likely that their affiliation will be with the engi-

neers, the architects, the physicians, and teachers who may be performing tasks of great social value but whose technical training is mainly in the field of some particular science of a well-defined and long established character.

As a more specific treatment under this general type of definition by classes served, the striking classification of Southard and Jarrett deserves mention.[1] Five kinds of evils are enumerated, from which the victims need to be aided to make their escape: disease, poverty, ignorance, legal entanglements, and faults of character. To each of these corresponds the work of some profession; the work of the psychiatrist, in which the authors are particularly interested, lying more especially with the last named, although frequently needed in dealing with the others.

2. THE FIELD DEFINED BY AIM AND PROCESS

A second definition of social work which has been suggested is "the detailed study and better adjustment of social relations." The social process is conceived to be so imperfectly co-ordinated in its character that certain individuals or groups are always finding themselves out of adjustment to the process as a whole, or to some part of their immediate environment. The great inventions and consequent social, economic, political, domestic disturbances, and new formations create new strains

[1] Southard, Elmer Ernest, and Jarrett, M. C.: The Kingdom of Evils. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922.

for which old habits and ways of getting a living or getting on with one's neighbors and fellows are quite inadequate. Factory life and urban life combined have subjected the family to one kind of strain, just as the settlement of the western states with isolated farms subjected it to a different kind of strain. The opening up of opportunities in this country and the ease of transportation have brought linguistic, racial, economic, and urban problems on a scale never experienced before. In such a complex of groups and forces and clashing interests, it is no wonder that many individuals, groups, and even communities or a whole agricultural class should be caught and bruised or find themselves incapable of facing life on equal terms. The task of social work is to discover and classify these conditions of maladjustment, trace their causes, devise agencies and methods for their relief and possibly for their removal. Such a definition would range from the major adjustments between capital and labor, between white and Negro, between foreign-speaking immigrants and native stock, to the more individual and personal cases of the truant child, the wayward girl, the family deserted by the husband and father, the homeless man, or the difficult adolescent.

Conceived in terms not of process but of ultimate aim, Miss Richmond would define social work as aiming at the development of personality, and would distinguish four subdivisions: (1) Case work "consists of those processes which develop per-

sonality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment."[1] (2) "Group work serves it [personality] by dealing with people face to face but no longer one by one"; (3) "social reform serves it by effecting mass betterment through propaganda and social legislation"; (4) "and social research serves personality by making original discoveries and re-interpreting known facts for the use of these other forms of social work."[2]

Large areas of social work may be very profitably considered from this point of view, but it can hardly be regarded as in itself conclusive for problems of education and training. The parent, the teacher, the preacher, doubtless aim at the development of personality, and if we look at the process rather than at the ultimate aim we seem to need more specific conceptions as to the meaning of adjustment. It is not clear that the major conflicts between capital and labor are to be met by such methods as may be most successful in dealing with the ordinary tasks of Red Cross nurse, probation officer, family visitor, or psychiatric social worker. When we speak of adjustment, one fundamental issue always has to be faced. If we understand the desirable thing to be the adjustment of the individual to his environment, we shall take one view; if we consider the problem to be that of changing the environment to make it more suitable to what we

[1] Richmond, M. E.: What is Social Case Work? pp. 98–99. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1922. [2] Ibid., p. 259.

regard as the ends and fulfilment of human life, we shall take another view. Of course, these two points of view are as old as Plato and Aristotle. Plato would change institutions; Aristotle believed that troubles were largely due to faults of human nature as reflected in individuals, and hence that we should direct our effort primarily to remedying these. And perhaps equally, of course, it may be said that no intelligent person would adopt either attitude to an extent that would exclude recognition of the other. There is, however, a question of emphasis which would have an important bearing upon our conceptions of education. In the one case we should not challenge existing institutions; in the other we should need to go thoroughly into the bases and working of these institutions.

It may be noted, however, that neither attitude stands just where it stood a few years ago. On the one hand we have a much broader scientific basis for helping the individual in many kinds of maladjustment once regarded as incapable of remedy. Better knowledge of hygiene and improved methods of preventive and curative medicine are improving the outlook in the great number of ills caused by disease; mental hygiene and psychiatry, although yet in their infancy, are throwing light upon previously obscure weakness or instability of character. The psychology of childhood and adolescence has made notable contributions toward better treatment of boys and girls at critical periods. On the other hand, as regards institutions, we

do not feel shut up either to the deterministic views of a Spencer and a Sumner who deprecate interference with supposedly natural laws, or to the equally deterministic view of a Marx, who sees the revolution as inexorable and inevitable. We have seen that child labor can be largely controlled; that workmen's compensation laws stimulate inventions and awaken interest in safeguarding machinery; that an income tax amendment may have far-reaching effects in the incidence of taxation burdens; that devolution of functions to such bodies as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Railway Labor Board, and the like, may give us virtually a pluralistic state; and that such experiments as permanent boards of arbitration in the clothing industry, shop committees, workmen's representation plans, or the Kansas Industrial Court may profoundly change the relations of capital and labor.

If we take the field of mutual adjustment in its broad sense as just outlined, it is evident that we have to do not with a technique, which can be mastered, but with a method, which has indefinite possibilities of extension, depending on the one hand upon the advance of science, and on the other upon the education of human nature to demand and maintain better institutions.

3. THE FIELD DEFINED BY HISTORICAL APPROACH

In very early society and in very elementary types of organized life two motives or modes of

behavior make their appearance, which in variant proportions have constantly been present during recorded history and are still operative. In the first place, sympathy or pity for anyone in sudden distress has called out some kind of friendly help from companion or neighbor. The parable of the good Samaritan did not illustrate a usual type of action because the man in trouble belonged to a different group from that of his helper, but within a group there would be frequent need which would ordinarily find response unless fear of the unseen causes behind sickness, death, birth, or outbreaks of flood or pestilence were present to check the "kindly" impulse, i. e., impulse toward those of one's own kin or kind. Whether the roots of this impulse be sought in an inborn "set" or instinct, or whether they be sought in a more complex process of give and take between members of a group from infancy on, need not here concern us. In the second place there was in the organized group of even a relatively low type some provision for the group needs as a whole which did not allow the individual to starve where any general food supply was dealt with by the group as a whole. A striking instance is found in Dr. Eastman's statement: "A whole group of Indians might starve; a single Indian never." The ancient Hebrews combined in certain cases the method of individual kindness with the conception of group responsibility, as when they made it the law of the land that the farmer harvesting his crop should not glean the last remnants or

return to pick up the sheaf that had been dropped by the way. When the religious side of life found a partially separate organization the church or parish assumed certain responsibilities; while at the same time in a religion like Christianity, which originated in a group composed largely of the poor, it was natural that the spirit of personal kindness should be kept alive whenever the life and teachings of the Founder were brought to mind.

At the present time these two types of motive and activity are represented through voluntary agencies of various sorts, on the one hand, and through public provision for relief or care of the unfortunates or ill or disadvantaged in various ways, on the other.

Progress and expansion have come through several lines.

1. The number and kinds of ill or disadvantaged that have gained attention have increased. This in turn may be due to either of two causes:

(1) The progress of invention and the organization of modern life have made the task of meeting all its demands increasingly difficult. Machines are dangerous; techniques are difficult; new occasions for accidents multiply; famine and pestilence have been followed by malnutrition; civilized methods of selecting foods bring perils; occupational diseases steal upon us. Our business organization and industrial system have intensified class division, stimulated urban life, and substituted impersonal for personal relations throughout

the great range of daily experience. All these make life complex and maladjustment frequent. (2) Men have grown more sensitive and alert to the needs of others. Education, for example, is no doubt demanded more rigorously by modern civilization if the individual is to be reasonably comfortable and prosperous; but it is also true that a more generous conception of human possibilities has come in with the growth of democracy, and differences in knowledge which would once have been accepted as a matter of course, or even as a part of the divine plan, now grate on the nerves of the general public. Provision for schools, which was originally made by the well-to-do for their own children or by charitable gifts and foundations, is now made ungrudgingly for all and regarded not as a charity but as an opportunity to which every child is entitled in a democratic country.

2. In the second place, the general advance in scientific attitude has turned attention increasingly back from symptoms to causes. Relief for victims of epidemics, of unemployment, of ignorance, of weak or vicious character, may be necessary, but while we mop up the floor it is the part of the wise householder to look also for the leaks in the plumbing which are responsible for the flood.

3. In the third place, advances in science both natural and social have enlarged the horizon of what seems possible in the way of meeting evils once accepted as inevitable. Conditions affecting

health once considered entirely normal would now be a public scandal, as, for instance, the occurrence of numerous cases of typhoid or smallpox. Tuberculosis and the venereal diseases occupy a transitional stage. Unemployment, panics, seasonal industry are not yet banished, but at least are challenged. Model tenements of yesterday are abominations today. The hitherto mysterious and subtle processes of mental growth and morbid perversion which went their course without comprehension or aid give promise of yielding enough of their nature to science so that much wretchedness may be prevented which was formerly suffered in silence or was liable to dangerous outbreaks. The criminal is no longer classed simply as a criminal, and therefore as of a single sort who is to be punished and let loose to be punished again for an almost certain repetition, but is found to be sufficiently like other individuals to respond to proper treatment in many cases. The whole standard of what constitutes need or disadvantage has thus been raised.

4. Most important of all in its possibilities is the great expansion of ideas due to the ancient thought of Plato, Aristotle, and St. Paul, revitalized and given scientific formulation by Comte, namely, that human society is not to be considered as a mechanical process determined by fate or cosmic laws incapable of control, but is rather a process which can be studied and, to some extent at least, guided. If existing society is not working well we

seek to improve or reshape it. The old prophet or seer relied upon sudden change of men's hearts, or upon a sudden revolution when the city of God should descend upon earth; the modern social engineer increasingly puts faith in education, in spread of information and of attendant sympathy, and in legislation where general action is necessary in order to make possible the more liberal plans that would be gladly adopted by the enlightened and generous few.

If a nation can organize for war, we now ask, why not for public welfare? Unemployment, race riots, differential birth rates which with immigration are gradually replacing certain stocks and strains by others and thus changing the basis of our national life, are typical of the problems which call for something more comprehensive in scope than individual vision can see or individual effort achieve.

5. Closely connected with the preceding, as an influence upon the development of social work, has been the greater realization of the organic interrelation of all members of society. The individualistic philosophy of a century ago gave little encouragement to organized efforts for social improvement. If an "invisible hand" is guiding all things so that each man is unconsciously promoting the social weal, however self-centered his intention, why should anyone concern himself about his neighbor? It needed the shocking conditions of unregulated factory and urban life on the one

hand, and a deeper social philosophy such as that of T. H. Green and his disciples on the other, to make clear the inadequacy for present conditions of a philosophy which might have its degree of truth in a simpler society.

In sum, the increasing numbers of individuals, groups, and classes that need help or guidance or better opportunity, the demand for scientific methods, the enlarging vision of what is possible, the increasing resources and skill to deal with situations once hopeless, the growing conception that we are members one of another, and that it is now possible to do in a concerted way what we potter with ineffectively in separate efforts—all these combine to expand the field of social work. As medicine and surgery had to await chemistry and bacteriology, and still await developments in physics, chemistry, and biology before they can deal scientifically with health, so social work must rely upon advances in the biological, psychological, and social sciences. But it would give additional incentive and reality to these studies to place them in closer relation to social engineering, and it will gain new and stronger public support for social work if the profession can envisage these larger and newer settings of its tasks and get them before the public.

4. THE FIELD DEFINED BY ENUMERATION OF PRESENT LINES OF ACTIVITY

A more definite picture of the field of social work may be gained by the aid of a table showing the

various lines of work which at present are either definitely or loosely classed as social work. The underlying theory for this method of defining social work may be stated as, "Social work is whatever the social worker does."

Before presenting such a table it may be noted that a large part of what in a very genuine and real sense may well be called social work is not carried on by those who would willingly call themselves, or would properly be called by others, professional social workers. Aside from volunteer work, in which all good citizens may be supposed to have some share if they are public spirited and sympathetic, there are border-line fields cultivated, for example, by the physician, the lawyer, the teacher, the clergyman, the government civil service, the engineer, and the Farm Bureau staff. Members of these other professions would prefer to keep the name of the specific occupation which rests upon a specific science rather than to take the general title of social worker, which in its original usage was associated rather with a motive or purpose than with a scientific background or technique. We may not, therefore, forthwith annex these border-line fields bodily for the jurisdiction of social work. On the other hand, for reasons that will be more fully discussed under a later analysis, we may not abandon these border-line fields to the professions which appear to furnish the scientific background for them. For the plain fact is that the professions in question do not assume a full responsibility.

Whatever might be the case in an ideally socialized group of the older professions, the fact is that the lawyer limits himself for the most part to securing justice for clients who are intelligent enough and financially able to seek out and reward his services. The physician performs a larger amount of unpaid service than the lawyer, but has not considered it to be his task to see that all classes not only may have medical attendance if they seek the office or the hospital or the clinic, but also are sought out and enlightened as to their bodily and mental hygiene. The teacher of former days was obliged at least to have some acquaintance with the homes of his children and, therefore, to deal with the children to some extent with an understanding of their home environment. But under present conditions, in the city at least, this is no longer the case and the task of education is correspondingly incomplete.

The government official is drawn in one direction by a desire to serve the public, but is frequently subject to pressure from political forces or is restrained by the backward condition of public opinion, and thus is prevented from rendering enlightened and whole-hearted social service. The architect or engineer has until very recently occupied himself with tasks set for him by commerce, industry, or government, and has not considered it his business to inquire whether his great achievements were serving not merely those needs which it is commercially profitable to recognize, but also the purposes of communal beauty and welfare and

of so organizing industry as to make it safe for the worker's body and as little deadening as possible for his mind. The Farm Bureau staff has been primarily concerned with production and marketing, and has not fully occupied the field of making rural life attractive. Whether these border-line fields will ultimately be provided for by socializing the older professions, or by professional social workers who have mastered also the scientific basis required in these special fields, or by co-ordination of tasks and joint occupancy, it is perhaps premature to forecast. Not all areas are likely to be treated in the same way. At present, in any case, the social worker is often demanded in these fields and often explores them simply because he finds that the other professions are neglecting them.

A second preliminary remark is that we may conceivably group the various kinds of social work in a variety of ways. The New York Charities Directory for 1921 requires 371 pages to enumerate the social service agencies (including the churches, city courts, parks, hospitals, prisons), and groups them under a great number of subjects with a view to ready reference. The American Association of Social Workers, formerly the National Social Workers' Exchange, has used in its employment bureau a classification intended primarily to enable applicants to find positions for which they are suited, and conversely to enable agencies to find suitable candidates. It therefore divides positions according as the work lies with individuals, with

groups, with the general public, with scientific investigation, with industrial problems, or with various special tasks. The American Association of Social Workers through its committee on Vocational Information has also issued a pamphlet entitled "The Profession of Social Work," which affords a classification based on problems of the social worker. I reproduce the classification used in the Employment Bureau of the Association and follow it with another based upon the place of social work in the civic and social process and its relation to various other institutions.

SOCIAL WORK

As Classified in the Employment Bureau of the National Social Workers' Exchange (now the American Association of Social Workers)

(Occupational Groups)

Social Case Work (work with individuals)

1. Child Welfare Work
2. Church Visiting
3. Family Welfare Work
4. Medical Social Work
5. Occupational Therapy
6. Probation, Protective, Parole, and Prison Work
7. Public Health Nursing
8. Psychiatric Social Work
9. School Visiting
10. Visiting Dietitian
11. Vocational Guidance (in educational institutions only)

Social Group Work (work with groups)

1. Americanization Work
2. Community Organization Work
3. Community Center Work
4. Club Work (Boys' and Girls')
5. Playground Work
6. Recreation Work
7. Settlement Work

Social Reform Work (work with people in the mass)

1. Civic Work
2. Housing Work
3. Legislative Work
4. Publicity and Financial Work
5. Public Health Work
    a. Nursing (see also Social Case Work)
    b. Social Hygiene Work
    c. Anti-tuberculosis Work
    d. Child Hygiene Work
    e. Industrial Hygiene (see Industrial Work)

Social Research Work (the discovery and use of facts)

1. Investigational Work (for Industrial Investigation see Industrial)
2. Research Work
3. Survey and Exhibit Work
4. Statistical Work

Industrial Work

1. Employment Work—Private and Public
2. Industrial Research Work
3. Factory Inspection
4. Personnel Work
    a. Employment
    b. Health and Hygiene
    c. Safety
    d. Social activities (which may be some form of Social Case Work or Social Group Work or both)
    e. Training

Specialties (which may be used in social organizations)

1. Agricultural Work
2. Community Song Leading
3. Dramatic Work
4. Eugenics
5. Financial and Publicity Campaigning
6. Home Economics
7. Institutional Work
    a. Administrative Head
    b. Matron
8. Knowledge of Languages
9. Mental Testing
10. Nursing
11. Medical Work
12. Physical Training

13. Psychology
14. Psychiatry
15. Registrar's Work
16. Secretarial Work (involving a knowledge of stenography for work in social organizations)

There are or may be Executives, Organizers, Propagandists, Field Workers, Publicity and Financial Workers, Research Workers, Teachers, Rural and Urban Workers, in all of these groups. The organizations in which the work is done may be either publicly or privately supported.

5. THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK DEFINED BY ITS RELATION TO THE VARIOUS SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO THE SOCIAL PROCESS

A fifth line of approach to the field of social work which, instead of conceiving the aim of social work broadly as social welfare, would seek a more specific interpretation of social welfare, may be attempted through an analysis of our institutions and their functions. We have certain fundamental needs and activities, such as getting a living, protection from violence and fraud, recreation; we have also in the course of human development come to envisage more or less clearly certain ideal interests, such as ordered sex relations, education of children, liberty, justice, friendship, culture, beauty, a common good. We have gradually built up certain institutions which provide means of satisfying the above needs and which embody more or less distinctly these ideal ends. Corresponding to these institutions are various more or less well marked occupations or professions. Is there, then, any clearly defined need or ideal end which calls for

such an occupation or institution as social work, and is there any place for a definite profession with well marked objectives analogous to those of other professions? And as a closely related question, Is there a scientific discipline underlying the craft or art of the social worker comparable to the scientific disciplines which underlie other fields of established functions in our social organization and social process?

The following table offers a tentative classification of the main fields of social work, based on their relation to the various institutions and to society as a whole:

A CLASSIFICATION OF FIELDS OF SOCIAL WORK BASED ON THEIR RELATION TO VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND TO SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

1. As related to the Family:
   - Care for the family as a whole, Family Welfare Societies, Home Service of Red Cross, Public Welfare Departments doing "case work" in families.
   - Care for special types of adult or adolescent individuals such as deserted wives, unmarried mothers, the aged; Domestic Relations Courts.
   - Care for children, in their own homes, through child-placing agencies, through protective agencies, in institutions.
   - Housing, considered from the point of view of the homes of families, and of men and women not in families.
   - Visiting housekeeper or visiting dietitian.

2. As related to Government:
   - Civic agencies designed to organize public opinion for reform or improvement of government or for co-operation with it, reform leagues, city clubs, committees of various sorts with professional executives or secretaries.

Offices of government, particularly in the administrative departments which have to do with giving relief, with mothers' pensions, with factory legislation and child labor laws, with institutions for the care of the blind, the insane, the sick, the dependent and the delinquent. The Children's Bureau, juvenile research bureaus.

The legal field, including especially the juvenile court, with its agents; probation officers, and parole officers; legal aid societies; societies for aiding discharged prisoners; societies which include both public officials and others interested in penal problems, such as the American Prison Association and its various affiliated societies.

3. As related to Economic Institutions:

Agriculture, county agents, home demonstrators, leaders of boys' and girls' clubs, such as poultry clubs, corn clubs, and the like.

Commerce, associations of commerce, chambers of commerce, in so far as these take an interest in community problems.

Industry, employment management, arbitration procedure, nurses, recreation leadership, administration of workingmen's compensation, labor unions (in certain aspects).

4. As related to Hygiene and Medicine:

Public health, including physicians, inspectors, nurses, laboratory workers, and other officials.

Special fields, anti-tuberculosis campaigns, tuberculosis sanitaria, social hygiene committees and leagues.

Visiting nurses.

Hospital social work.

Nutrition work (which might be included also under care for children or under work of home demonstrators in the rural field).

Psychiatric social work.

Mental hygiene.

5. As related to Organized Recreation: (This is analogous to 3 above in that recreation like the economic field is supposed to be primarily left to individual initiative, but is found to need attention from the point of view of social and public interests.)

Recreation for children, playgrounds, summer camps.
Recreation for young people and adults, club work, gymnasiums, community music, pageants, dramatic presentations. (Recreation cannot be sharply defined from the fields of hygiene, of education, and of ministration to the higher community life through the nobler arts.)

6. As related to Education and the Arts:
   The school as social center in both rural and urban districts.
   The work of school visitor or visiting teacher.
   Vocational guidance.
   Providing scholarships for children otherwise unable to remain in school.
   The public library.
   Clubs for study, reading, parliamentary practice, debate.
   Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls:
   Education of special groups, such as immigrants, workers, illiterate adults, et cetera.
   Education in music, and the graphic and plastic arts.

7. As related to Organized Religion:
   Work of the church or synagogue along similar lines to those noted under 1, 4, 5 and 6 above.
   Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, Knights and Ladies of Columbus, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association for young people in cities.
   Rural work of the church.
   Community work of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association.
   Industrial work of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association.
   Work of the Salvation Army, Volunteers of America.

8. As related to Institutions for cultivation of Friendship or Mutual Aid:
   Clubs for children and adolescents.

Certain types of social work are not comprehended under any of the above classes. The reason why they cannot be placed in relation to some one

institution may be either because they supplement several institutions, or because they aim to supply some need or promote some end for which society has not as yet organized any specific institution. Under the first of these two categories we may note the following group:

9. Activities for certain groups, racial, geographic, occupational, which combine several of the fields above named:
   Work with immigrants, with the Negro, with the American Indians.
   Specially organized work for the mill village, the mining community, or the lumber community, or for homeless and migratory groups.
   City clubs, community centers, the Country Life movement.

Under the second category, namely, needs or ideal ends for which no institution exists, might be placed the observation, study, valuation, and guidance of human development and the social process. Scientists and philosophers have conceived the observation, study, and valuation of human development and the social process to be their task; church, school, and individual reformers have attempted at various points the guidance of human development and the social process. But there has been a lack of co-ordinated effort between the study on the one hand and the guidance on the other. The social agency which has come nearest to this general function, although chiefly confined to problems of urban life, is probably:

10. The Settlement.

The different institutions and occupations or professions listed above have no doubt arisen in somewhat haphazard order. Nevertheless it is easy now to see their place in the whole. Medicine was long in reaching its present status, but there is no doubt as to the field. To be sure, public health and preventive medicine are almost new, but it is easy for the layman to grasp the reason for this extension. Government early recognized its need of administrators, and conflicting claims and interest demanded, first, rules for their adjustment, and then, men versed in the knowledge of these rules. The lawyer has his clearly defined place. And if the general awakening as to public interests and the prevention of injustice has not yet gone so far as in the case of public health and preventive medicine, there are some signs of interest and some examples of this interest actually at work. In like manner education and the teacher have their province; commerce and industry their experts and engineers. Our need for dwellings has created the architect and the building craftsmen. Just where does social work come in?

The position which would be plausibly suggested by a glance at some of the kinds of social work listed above would be this: Social work is not a clearly defined single field corresponding to a single need, but includes many diverse occupations which have as their tasks to supplement the work of the other professions. For example, the school visitor supplements the work of the teacher; the public

health nurse the work of the physician; the family visitor the work of parents; the Bureau of Personal Service, or Legal Aid Society, or probation officer supplements the work of the court or police officer, and the settlement worker is found on many kinds of committees. It may be plausibly said that no one science is common to all these fields, and that it is illogical to consider them as performing a single function or as constituting a single profession. This does not imply that these various types of workers and their organized associations are not useful. It does, however, inevitably fix their status as in a sense auxiliary rather than primary.

A similarly modest status may seem to be indicated if the situation is viewed dynamically rather than in cross-sections. Granted that the legal profession, for example, should ideally take all justice for its field, should consider the poor as well as the client who can seek out and pay for the services of a lawyer; granted that it should not merely remedy wrongs that cry out, but seek out wrongs that have as yet found no expression and should endeavor to right them before they become sources of discontent; granted that agencies of justice should champion social interests as well as private interests and public interests, it still may be said that there are several reasons why at any given time existing practice is bound to fall short of this ideal.

New conditions are constantly arising in our changing civilization, but the tendency of any well-

organized institution is to form habits and adopt rules. Neither the habits nor the rules easily take account of new conditions. "Most human institutions," says William James, profoundly, "by the purely technical and professional manner in which they come to be administered, end by becoming obstacles to the very purpose which their founders had in view." Notoriously the great reforms in many at least of the professions and institutions have been first advocated, or at least have been greatly aided, by laymen rather than by the official keepers of the seal. And there is a reason arising from the very nature of a professional and technical institution why it should easily get out of touch with human life. For the scientific and technical is necessarily the objective, the impersonal, the general, the intellectual, as distinguished from the subjective, the personal, the individual, the emotional. It gives us, as Professor Royce phrases it, "the world of description," not "the world of appreciation." Just as democracy has at once felt the need of experts in government and at the same time distrusted their final authority on matters of ultimate welfare, so it may be said humanity at once needs its professions and distrusts them as inadequate to appreciate and deal with human needs.

The moral would seem to be that the conception of the field of social work should above all be kept fluid in order to maintain in this profession at least an open mind toward humanity's changing

needs and the best methods or agencies for meeting them. A profession which seems called upon to supplement in a sense a too narrow professionalism may well be on its guard against itself becoming too professional. And further, a profession which finds one of its distinctive tasks to be that of maintaining an open mind toward humanity's changing needs is not auxiliary in any sense that would imply inferiority in importance. Its importance is as great as its service.

II

THE WELL-DEFINED CENTRAL FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK AND THE BORDER FIELDS OF UNCERTAIN DELIMITATION

AS HAS already been made clear by the five different methods of considering the field of social work, there is a relatively well-defined center. This embraces especially care for children who are not properly looked after in their own homes, care for families who are in various ways unfortunate or abnormal, and at the other extreme such a consideration of the social interests in a neighborhood or community as is given by the social settlement. This central field is recognized in the programs of practically all the schools or institutions which offer education and training for social work. It is the largest group at the National Conference for Social Work. There is little question that this field will continue to make first demand upon the institutions which prepare for social work, although methods of doing the work which it includes may very likely continue to be affected by the general trend away from mere relief to problems of prevention and to methods of education, social engineering, or public hygiene.

The more difficult and uncertain fields are the border fields which are suggested especially by the fifth analysis made above, in which the various divisions of social work are classified by their relation to the various social institutions and to society as a whole. For our purpose we are not concerned primarily with the abstract question of whether certain of these border fields properly belong to the social worker on the one hand, or to the physician, teacher, lawyer, clergyman, or engineer on the other. We are concerned rather with the educational problem as to how far the institutions which offer education in social work should attempt to cover these border fields. It will be convenient in discussing this question to follow the general analysis of the fields of social work just referred to as found on pages 24–27.

1. BORDER FIELDS WHICH CONCERN THE FAMILY

Despite the fact that so many of the family problems are found in what we have called the clearly defined province of social work, their solutions require the co-operation of many professions. Beginning with the externals of the home, questions of housing have in recent years commanded the attention of several types of experts. Of these the architect is naturally foremost. The architect in the past has for the most part been consulted either by the private individual wishing to build

his own residence or by the commercial builder who naturally wishes to obtain the largest financial return for his investment. In neither case was the social point of view required from the architect. When cities began to make provision for constructing buildings with some regard to public welfare and more particularly when, in connection with the planning of large groups of buildings or even of whole communities the larger social significance of housing was increasingly brought to the attention of the public, architects responded. Provisions for zoning made in many respects still wider series of contacts. Real estate operators, lawyers, and business men of various groups suddenly found that the economic interest in a social program of this sort was very great. Is then the problem of housing with its correlated extension to the field of zoning properly in the province of social work? Social workers have aided strongly in this movement. They have secured much of the legislation which has created the demand for the service of socially minded architects. It is important that in any school of architecture the community point of view should be impressively presented as over against the purely private or predominantly commercial point of view. And it may well be that in such a community point of view the architect would find reborn the great and ennobling spirit which gave the world so many of its finest works of art. But except in institutions which shelter both schools of architecture and schools of social work,

the school of social work is not likely to undertake the socializing of architects. Certainly the architect will wish to call himself "architect" and not "social worker," even when he may be designing a community center or a garden city.

Certain other family questions concern the eugenist, the biologist, and of course the physician and teacher. The moment we cease to confine ourselves to repairing the results of wrong matings, or of the propagation of diseased or defective stocks, and attempt more positive and constructive work, we are in the fields of these other professions. The moment we look beneath the surface of Chinese or Indian famines, or Japanese expansion, or city politics, we come upon questions of birthrate and of the characteristics of various racial stocks. How far shall the schools of social work consider all such questions as their legitimate field? No doubt certain aspects of these questions, especially those which deal with immigrant groups, with defectives and certain types of delinquents, are forced upon the attention of social workers. How far should these questions be followed? Here, again, it would be found that as yet little attempt has been made to cover the biological problems. Indeed, it is evident that for the more serious questions the co-operation of biologists, eugenists, psychologists, and students of population on the one hand, with social workers upon the other, is necessary. In a well equipped school in an institution which conducts research covering the vari-

ous scientific problems, opportunity may be afforded for thorough preparation to consider such questions. Schools which have courses extending through but a single year, and schools which cannot command the co-operation of specialists in these kindred fields will hardly attempt to cover the deeper problems. And as for the classification of workers it is to be feared that until schools for social work are able to offer more comprehensive preparation, the workers engaged in research will prefer to call themselves by the professional names appropriate to the subjects of research. Meanwhile the field of the family as dealt with in schools which cannot touch these more fundamental problems is bound to suffer, so far as fitting its students for research or for expressing themselves upon fundamental questions is concerned.

2. BORDER FIELDS WHICH CONCERN ACTIVITIES AND FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

Three departments were included in our analysis in this general group; namely, (1) civic agencies for the reform or improvement of government or for co-operation with it, such as reform leagues, city clubs, special committees of various sorts; (2) government offices which have to do especially with relief, with mothers' pensions, with factory legislation and child labor laws, and finally with institutions for the care of various diseased, dependent, and delinquent persons; (3) the legal

field, including especially probation and parole, the juvenile court, legal aid societies, and societies for aiding discharged prisoners.

It is obvious that all these fields are at present under no exclusive jurisdiction. Many professional workers in all of them would call themselves social workers, but many others would not. Some officials have come to their positions with experience in social work, and a very few with special training in the schools for preparation for social work. But in many cases personal qualities not dependent on any previous training would still be the prime consideration, while in the legal field the main preparation for certain of the tasks must necessarily be gained in the law school.

More specifically, in Class I above, personal qualifications have undoubtedly been the first to be considered. The executive secretary of a league or a club which is to get things done must be a good judge of men and of the ways of enlisting their co-operation; must know how to get action from groups of people brought together for some common purpose but with widely different antecedents and convictions on many other subjects; must frequently be efficient in raising funds. It is usually assumed that the members of the club or committee know what they want in a broad way; it is the task of the professional secretary to carry out their ideas. This field may not be at present a very large one as compared with some others; nevertheless the question is one that at least some

of the schools will feel called upon to meet. Is it the duty of the school of social work to provide training for such positions? As over against the reasons stated above for the present uncertain attitude, it may be said that one reason why so many associations of this sort fail to put their programs across is that they lack a secretary who combines with the personal traits mentioned above a comprehensive knowledge of his field, including what has been done in other cities and countries, and a thorough training as well in the whole process of reform and education. As compared with certain of the other border fields, this seems to demand less in the way of a technical education remote from the natural field of the social sciences. It is therefore a field which may legitimately claim attention on the part of the schools for education and training in social work.

The second class specified above, government offices, presents a comparatively simple problem. Certain of the administrative officers, such as those in charge of hospitals for the insane or for the blind or for the sick, require medical education, although it is at least an open question with regard to certain of these institutions whether the administration, as distinguished from the expert and scientific side, may be in the hands of laymen. But the larger number of functions under this head do not require such a long period of distinctly technical education and training in a field quite separate from that of social work proper,

and do, on the other hand, require all that vision and education which the schools of social work, and these schools only, are in a position to give. Exception probably should be made to this as regards the treatment of delinquents, since an adequate preparation for dealing with delinquents requires a more thorough grounding in both physiological and psychological science than is at present available in the schools—or, with possible exceptions, anywhere else.

The answer to the question, "How shall adequately trained physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, and—to anticipate the next class of borderline fields—lawyers be secured?" must probably be sought through socializing these physicians and lawyers while in their own professional schools, not through bringing them to schools for social work. The proper co-ordination in training in certain of these highly technical fields requires in equal measure a specialized, rigorous technique to be given by a professional school, and a broad social philosophy and working acquaintance with social forces. These certainly are not available and perhaps cannot be acquired in any professional school of law, medicine, engineering, and the like. Doubtless the ideal conditions for bringing about this co-ordination would be found in co-operation under university auspices between the forces of the professional schools of these various technical fields and those of the equally scientific school for social service. At present

this may well be kept in mind as the goal, while the more immediate tasks of preparation for fields such as the administration of relief, mothers' pensions, institutions for children and for the aged, may be efficiently met.

Activities of the third class have from the outset allied themselves closely with the older fields of social work. Heads of prisons and reformatories, especially of prisons, have been usually appointed for political reasons, and hence are rather shy of affiliating with social workers. They frequently encounter criticism from social workers and, in many cases, have come to consider them their natural enemies. The situation in this field has been described at my request by Professor Kirchwey,[1] who is able to speak with a far more competent knowledge than I could bring to the subject. He points out the growing tendency to extend the field for social workers from the care of the juvenile delinquents and from probation and parole to other less progressive divisions of penal administration. Attention is particularly called to the closing paragraph of his statement, in which he holds that the development now actually going on is opening up "a new field of enormous extent and alluring possibilities to the social worker." While the personal qualification for a successful executive must remain as an indispensable prerequisite, and while the problem of providing suc-

[1] George W. Kirchwey, Head of Department of Criminology, New York School of Social Work.

cessful men for important positions must be even more than in most other cases a problem first of all of recruiting promising candidates for the course of training, nevertheless the schools ought to consider this as part of their task, especially those schools which are under the auspices of state universities and, therefore, under especial obligations to provide for the proper conduct of government.

The Field of Delinquency

BY GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

It is only within the brief span of a score of years that the social control of delinquency has presented itself as an integral part of the general movement for social betterment. The civilization which, in the process of heaping up wealth, has also produced the slum and "the submerged tenth," has long felt the responsibility for curing or alleviating the condition of "the worthy poor." But the kindred problem of delinquency, though springing from the same root, has been left to the tender mercies of the process that we know as "justice," administered under fixed rules by the courts of law. The criminal was to be punished, partly because justice demanded that he pay the price of his wrong-doing in suffering, partly that he and others tempted to wrong-doing might learn the lesson that the way of the transgressor is hard.

Though the social aim of this process was never lost sight of—the protection of society against crime—its administration called for no learning except that of the lawyer, and for no technique except that of the police officer and the executioner or jailer. The reign of law means force, and the instruments of force are men and women of nerve and resolution rather than of reflection and imagination. Obviously there is no place for the "social worker" in such a scheme.

It is true that this drastic process of the legal control of delinquency was mitigated by the humanity of judges who tempered justice with mercy, and by prison officials here and there who brought a personal quality of kindliness and understanding to their rigorous task; but these mitigations of the prevailing severity of treatment were too casual and sporadic to affect the integrity of the system, which continued to be punitive in intention and execution and successfully resisted all efforts of experimenters and penal reformers to modify it.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

In the meantime, while the legal system of criminal jurisdiction constituted a sort of enclave impervious to new ideas of social control, private agencies, inspired by the labors of John Howard and Samuel Romilly

in England, were coming into being which were destined to play an important rôle in shaping the future of that system. The first of these was the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, founded in 1787 (now the Pennsylvania Prison Society), and this was followed by the Prison Discipline Society of Boston (1825), and at a later date by the New York Prison Association (1845), the Howard Association of Chicago (1900), the American Prison Association (1870), and many other similar societies in all parts of the country. These organizations were all of a charitable character and had substantially identical aims. These aims, which have in general been pursued with marked devotion and intelligence, comprised the following:

1. To secure improvements in the living and disciplinary conditions of prisons;
2. To bring proper moral and religious influences to bear on the inmates of such institutions;
3. To provide for the necessities of the families of prisoners;
4. To aid released prisoners to secure employment and a footing in the community.

All these organizations have had from the beginning a staff of paid workers, and each in its turn has enjoyed the leadership of men or

women of the highest type of civic virtue in efforts to humanize the criminal law and its administration. Such names as those of Louis Dwight, of the Boston Society, Roberts and Richard Vaux, of Philadelphia, and the Wines, father and son, Theodore W. Dwight and Samuel J. Barrows, of New York, will be recognized by all who are familiar with the progress of penology in this country as having not unworthily carried on the tradition of Romilly and Howard.

There are at present approximately two-score societies of this kind in the United States of which a dozen are national and the rest local in scope; some, like the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology and the Baker Foundation of Boston, devoted mainly to research, and the others to the various forms of benevolent activity which inspired the earlier foundations. Many of these are extending the scope of their usefulness, and all of them have in varying degrees adopted the new technique and methods of propaganda rendered available by recent psychological and sociological study. Many, if not all of them, therefore, offer an inviting field of opportunity for trained social workers as well as for men and women of public spirit who feel the challenge of the new era in the social control of crime.

It may be well to note in this connection

that the private forces concerned with delinquency, though old in years, are still in their infancy in point of development. The fruits of a vagrant humanitarian impulse, they have led a fitful, individual life, without co-ordination of effort, continuity of policy, or comprehensive aim. The new penology, based on the scientific study of the criminal, points the way to a co-ordinated effort as well as to a more radical transformation of the whole process of dealing with the delinquent. This will call for an enormous extension of the activities of such forces, particularly in research, experimentation, and the discovery and application of preventive measures. For these tasks of the immediate future many new workers equipped with skill and disciplined by training will be demanded.

PUBLIC AGENCIES

Coincidently with the development of private effort in the field of delinquency above outlined there has, in recent years, been a corresponding development in methods of legal control. The first of these was a process of differentiation in the treatment of various classes of offenders resulting in the institution of houses of refuge for children, of reformatories for young delinquents of both sexes, and of hospitals for the criminal insane. Then the indeterminate sentence, first applied to com-

mitments to reformatories and correctional institutions for children, was extended to adult first offenders and supplemented with the provision of parole officers to exercise a benevolent supervision over delinquents who should be conditionally released on parole.

At the beginning of the present century the institution of juvenile courts of a parental character to deal with children under sixteen, led to the greatly enlarged use of the suspended sentence and probation, a provision which has in most states been extended to adult offenders. It is probably safe to say that these social developments in the judicial control of delinquency are only the initial stages of a tendency which will in the near future place the fate of delinquents of all ages and of every grade more and more in the hands of social workers, that is, of men and women trained in principles of criminology and methods of social case work. Even now, in many of the higher as well as in the inferior courts of criminal jurisdiction, the judges are largely governed in the disposition they make of convicted offenders by the information submitted to them by social investigators; and the subsequent career of the offender, whether as a probationer or as a paroled offender, is in increasing measure determined by the wisdom which the probation or parole officer brings to the task of supervision and sympathetic direc-

tion. The magnitude which has already been attained by the task of the probation officer may be inferred from the fact that upward of 200,000 delinquents were dealt with through probation in the United States during the past year, and that at the close of the year more than 2,000 salaried probation officers were at work in connection with the courts of the country. Equally significant is the fact that of 25,456 men, women, and children convicted of crime or found to be delinquent in the State of New York in the year ending June 30, 1920, 15,456, or over 60 per cent, were placed on probation.

Notwithstanding the impressive growth of the probation system, it must be confessed that it is still the slatternly Cinderella of social service. As a branch of the public service it is still too much the prey of partisan politics, its officers are far too few, too greatly underpaid, and too generally untrained to cope successfully with the great task committed to them. Year by year, however, these defects are being remedied and the service as a whole put on a more satisfactory basis.

With all its defects the probation service is more advanced than is that of the after-care of the dilapidated army of paroled prisoners. In most states the parole work, especially the supervision of convicts paroled from the state prisons, is only nominal, and the parole

officers are still generally regarded as officers of the peace whose sole function it is to keep track of the paroled delinquent and in case of default on his part to bring him back to prison to serve his unexpired term. In this field, as elsewhere, it is those who have the custody of juvenile delinquents who are leading the way, and there are today a considerable number of institutions for delinquent children and a smaller number of reformatories for women that are making of the parole system a true social service for their paroled inmates. It is not too much to say that as this conception spreads it will be found that the greatest opportunity for service that lies within the grasp of the correctional institution is in the wise, sympathetic supervision of those who have gone out from its walls to regain a secure foothold in the ways of freedom and responsibility.

CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The process which we have described as the social control of delinquency is at its worst in most of the institutions which society maintains for the segregation and punishment of convicted wrongdoers. This part of the system is proving itself the most resistant to the new conceptions of the nature of the delinquent, of the proper aims of the process of social control, and of the methods by which

those aims may be most wisely pursued. The prisoner is the forgotten man. Up to the time of his condemnation and sentence everything is possible. But the sentence which cuts him off from society cuts him off at the same time from its interest and recollection. Like a dead soul he is now in too many cases handed over to the lords of misrule to be exploited by them in their own interest in darkness and in secrecy. The impenetrable walls that shut the convict off from the world, as effectually shut out the interest, the sympathy, the criticism of the world. It is the jungle, a place apart. Such is the American prison at its worst, as also at its most typical.

When one speaks of the "prison system," however, there come into view the large number and variety of differentiated institutions that have in the last half-century or more split off from the prison proper—the house of refuge, state homes for boys and girls, state reformatories for young men and women—as well as the county jails which combine the function of the prison with that of the house of detention for accused offenders awaiting trial. Every state has institutions of the former type, some of them characterized by a milder discipline and most of them by a more or less conscious plan to effect the reformation of the hapless inmates, but too often seeking this aim by the brutalizing methods of re-

pressive discipline. If their efforts at reform are generally ineffectual, this result is not due to design but to the lack of wisdom of those to whom the task is committed. These, whether men or women, are still generally persons of the keeper or jailer type, not because the institutions in question are under political influence and control (as the state and federal prisons almost invariably are), but for the reason that in most of them the ideals of safe-keeping and punishment are still the dominant ones in the management of the inmates. It is only in a few of these institutions, in which the aims of education and treatment have supplanted that of punishment, that the personnel of the management is beginning to be drawn from men and women of the social worker type, and even among these the duly trained and qualified expert is still a *rara avis*. It is an encouraging sign of the times, however, that the need for men and women of this highly qualified type is coming to be recognized and that the demand for them even now is far in excess of the supply. To supply this demand, in increasing abundance, has become the imperative duty of the universities and schools of social work of the land. It is not too much to say that the great task of redeeming our correctional system rests primarily with them.

This survey of tendencies in the field of

prison management would be manifestly incomplete without some reference to that last intrenchment of the "old system"—the state prison or penitentiary. Despite politics, the institutions of this type, if they have not as yet materially mended their ways, are everywhere on the defensive. Though still for the most part purely punitive in character and dominated by the principle of iron discipline, new principles of classification based on mental and physical study of the inmates are creeping in here and there. Sing Sing Prison in 1916 established a well-equipped psychiatric clinic, and a year later a social service bureau, and though these lasted only two years, they set a standard which has been feebly emulated by the employment of a prison physician with some psychiatric training or a chaplain with the functions of a social worker, in several other state prisons. More significant of the breakdown of the old order is the widespread influence of the daring experiment in inmate self-government made by Thomas Mott Osborne at Auburn and Sing Sing prisons in 1914 and 1915 and in the Portsmouth Naval Prison in 1918. Under various disguises, and usually, it must be said, in a too timorous and half-hearted manner, this method of prison discipline has found its way into several state prisons as well as into other types of correctional institutions.

It will not do to make too much of all this. The innovations so far made are too trifling and too casual to do more than point the moral that the old order is no longer sure of itself. It is still largely administered by men of the old type, with no knowledge of their problem and no conception of the changes that are coming over the popular conception as to the criminal and his treatment. The new knowledge batters in vain at the doors of the "practical penologists" who know the criminal and the way to handle him by intuition or by long and hard experience. But the public mind is astir, and there is a growing demand for the new type of prison administrator who will bring the resources of psychology and social science to the supreme task of remolding the shattered human material that constitutes his problem.

Another rainbow of promise is beginning faintly to disclose itself in the movement to separate the punitive from the detentional functions of the county jail and in the establishment of separate detention homes for juvenile delinquents and women offenders. The American county jail is everywhere recognized—in Europe as well as in this country—as the foulest spot in our penal system. The fact that most of these jails are small, and that the inmates are generally committed for short terms only, has blinded the public to

the enormities of a system under which more than half of the prison population of the country is kept in demoralizing idleness and in promiscuous degradation. The present tendency in our more progressive states to remove the convicted offenders from the jails to industrial farms under state control is paralleled by a movement, still in its infancy, to make the necessary period of detention of those who are held to await judicial action an opportunity for the mental and physical examination and the careful observation and study of the accused.

Up to the present time it is only in a few of the larger cities and only in the case of children and, in a few instances, of women held by morals or women's courts, that detention homes of the newer type have been provided, and few if any of these have yet been supplied with adequate equipment and a properly qualified personnel for the proper study and appraisal of their inmates. But the movement, so tentatively inaugurated, must obviously go on until all persons held for trial or examination for delinquency shall receive similar treatment. The movement thus connects itself with the development of the system of probation and of the preliminary examination of offenders by probation officers, appointed by and acting under the direction of the courts having jurisdiction in cases involv-

ing crime or delinquency. In a few cities these detention homes are supplied with specially qualified teachers and are equipped with mental and venereal clinics. We may confidently look forward to the time when the jail will have become a house of detention and nothing more, and when the jailer will have given place to the teacher, the psychiatrist, and the social worker.

It must be apparent from the above outline that the American community is on the threshold of an amazing revolution in the social control of delinquency; that the traditional system of punitive justice is giving way to a more intelligent and humane process dominated by the ideals and governed by the methods of social service, and that this development opens up a new field of enormous extent and alluring possibilities to the social worker. Penology, which has been only a "pure science," a body of theoretical knowledge held in contempt by the practical man, has become an "applied science"—a profession.

3. BORDER FIELDS WHICH CONCERN ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The border fields in their relation to economic institutions may be divided into those relating to agriculture, to commerce, and to industry. The workers in these fields, whose preparation will later concern us, are in the first, county agents, home

demonstrators, leaders of boys' and girls' clubs; in the second, secretaries of associations and chambers of commerce or of special committees which investigate community problems under the auspices of such associations; in industry those engaged in employment management, in recreation leadership, or so-called welfare work, or in arbitration proceedings.

If the question as to whether the fields above named under the first heading may properly be called social work or rather be classed as belonging properly to the development of agriculture were asked, the answer might be somewhat different in different parts of the country, and according as we consider the present status or the future possibilities of the field. The outstanding fact is that a great organization has been built up covering almost all the rural counties of our forty-eight states, with funds from federal and state sources amounting during the fiscal year 1920–21 to $16,830,000, which has its primary purpose in giving instruction and practical demonstration in agriculture and home economics, but which under the broader-minded leaders results almost inevitably in developing interest in the problems of the community and of home life. As stated by President Butterfield, of the National Country Life Conference, emphasis was at first laid upon better methods of production. As the co-operation of the state agricultural colleges and federal experiment stations proved its value to the farmer along

these lines, the way was prepared for aid in problems of marketing, which at present are uppermost, especially in those parts of the country where staple crops are produced. The third stage to which President Butterfield looks forward is that of a growing interest in the country as a place to live in. This third stage must of course be reared upon a sound economic basis in both farm and household, but it will include larger recognition of distinctively human factors. This third stage would, therefore, lie in the general field of social work, so far as its purpose is concerned.

But it does not follow that the Country Life movement, with its various allied organizations of Farm Bureaus and States Relations Service, will wish to be classed as "social work." The leaders in this movement would insist that, whereas social work in cities has been chiefly a work for the less fortunate classes and is carried on, not by the people themselves who are aided, but by a few philanthropic persons through the agency of professional workers, country life improvement is to come through the activity of the great body of country people organizing to discover their own needs and to meet these in large measure through their own initiative and resources. Recognizing the importance of leadership through county agents, home demonstration agents, and leaders of boys' and girls' clubs, they nevertheless consider this work to be primarily educational, and to be most successful in proportion as it calls out the

widespread interest and activity of the whole countryside.

As this movement is perhaps less understood than some other fields, partly because of its comparatively recent development, and partly because it has been organized through governmental or educational agencies rather than through those which have been active in more usual lines of social work, a brief statement based on documents supplied by the authorities concerned may be appropriate.

The Smith-Lever Act, which became a law May 8, 1914, provides federal funds to be used for agricultural extension work, conditioned on the appropriation of equal amounts by the states.

It "also contemplated the continuance and further development of the system already well established, particularly in the southern states, under which men and women extension agents, commonly known as demonstration agents, were located permanently in the several counties to deal intimately with the farming people and give them such assistance and instruction as would promote the best interests of agriculture and home and community life according to local conditions. At present about 2,000 counties have agricultural agents (men), 800 counties have home demonstration agents (women), and 300 counties have leaders of boys' and girls' clubs."

Besides these county men and women agents, there are also enlisted in this co-operation extension work

About 400 state leaders and their assistants, usually with headquarters at the agricultural colleges, who go throughout the state to supervise and supplement the work of the county

men and women agents. In addition, about 700 extension specialists of the colleges in the various branches of agriculture and home economics co-operate with the county agents in dealing with special problems of the farm, home, and community in the open country.

To complete the picture, it is necessary to understand also the Farm Bureau. This bureau is an association, usually of family units, including in its membership men, women, and young people, which on the one hand contributes largely to the support of the county and home demonstration agents, and on the other furnishes the working basis through which these agents may reach the communities and individuals whom they are to serve. Membership is usually one dollar a year, and the organization now numbers approximately 1,250,000 members.

We have thus a great organization with purposes primarily economic and educational, but extending somewhat indefinitely into the field of the general improvement of life which might equally well be regarded as a field of social interest. What brings it somewhat nearer to social work than associations of commerce, which frequently consider the economic and industrial welfare of the community as a whole along such lines as inducing new industries to locate in the community, or providing for better fire protection, for better transportation, or for the beautifying of a city's architecture, is that this movement makes more direct contact with homes, with the welfare of children, and with

other lines of effort which have usually been recognized as social work. The home demonstration agents, for example, during the war directed their activities largely toward canning, cooking, and sewing, but have recently come to emphasize in certain states the importance of proper nutrition for children. The program for this work has included the weighing, measuring, and physical examination of children of pre-school age and school children, of establishing hot lunches in schools, of introducing more and better milk into the diet of children. In some counties the Farm Bureau has been instrumental in securing dental clinics; in others recreation centers, rest rooms, libraries, and magazine circles have been established. In short, programs cover many of the features which in cities are definitely classed as social work.

The education of the leaders in this work has thus far, for the men, been very largely in the agricultural colleges, and for the women in departments of home economics. Thus of the 286 home demonstration agents employed in the northern and western states June 30, 1920, 93 per cent had special training in home economics and 98 per cent had college training. Of the men, it is stated that 93 per cent of the county agents now in the service are graduates of an agricultural college, while an additional 4 per cent have had some agricultural college training. A far higher percentage of those engaged in this field have thus had college

training and some specific technical training than is the case with those engaged in so-called "social work" in the cities, if we may take as typical the figures for the previous education of 475 men and women who obtained positions through the National Social Workers' Exchange in New York City for the year 1920. Should the schools for social work consider it their duty to provide education and training for persons intending to devote themselves to this field? If the work is to continue to develop along broad lines, then either the agricultural colleges and institutions in which home economics is taught should broaden their curricula so as to develop more fully topics relating to the welfare of the home and community life, or else the needed instruction should be offered by the schools for social work. The difficulty with the latter course is that students who have already spent four years in an agricultural college may not feel that they can afford the time for this additional graduate work which is not at present made a prerequisite for their appointment. In the case of schools located in state universities which combine agricultural with social science education, the problem is simpler. In the case of other institutions, some co-operative arrangement will probably be found most useful. But the main work is likely for some time in the future to be connected with the state system of agricultural and household arts education.

In the field of industrial management the ques-

tion of jurisdiction is at present very complex. The general disposition to consult the welfare of employes not merely along lines of health but along lines of making the job fit the person, and to seek for a broader basis of motives in industry, is distinctly in line with the ideals of social work, and probably has derived no small part of its strength from the criticisms and suggestions of social workers, although a great impetus toward personnel study came from the special problems of the war. At the same time the earlier disposition to think of much of this work as "welfare work" has been exchanged for a tendency to bring it all under the head of good management. If it is conceived as being simply a function of good management to make sanitary and all other conditions as favorable as possible, or in other words to take account of the human factor as well as the technological factors of management, the natural consequence will be to place this field under the head of efficient management rather than under that of social work. Two indications of quite different origin are significant of this tendency. On the one hand, leading institutions of technology and business administration stress the human side of the industrial and the business situation, and claim that this must be recognized in their courses and in the general point of view of training in management, just as in the past the technological side has been emphasized. On the other hand, persons prominent in this new field of personnel

and employment management, when asked as to their attitude toward a professional association of social workers, have hesitated to identify themselves with such an association, on the ground that it would probably defeat their aim of getting the human point of view adopted. In other words, if the position to be filled were considered as essentially a function of management, business administration would be somewhat suspicious of anyone called a social worker. It is, therefore, a matter of interest for our study that several schools of social work have given especial attention to industrial supervision and employment management, and that the point of view of instruction is distinctly that of interest in the development and maintenance of the worker as an efficient, healthy, and intelligent citizen. In other words, the school of technology would naturally treat the field of industry somewhat as the profession of law has tended to treat its field, as one in which the obligation is primarily to the client who engages the professional services of the lawyer, rather than to the public at large whose interests may be indirectly secured through giving proper legal service to individuals, but are not primarily the object of attention. I am inclined to think that this field will for the most part fall to the engineer, although it is certainly an important experiment to see whether the person trained to consider the engineering or business problem from the social and civic standpoint can nevertheless find a posi-

tion in the economic order. In the case of such tasks as those of arbitration, the social interest is clear, but the field is as yet very small, and the selection of persons to serve in this field must for some time to come be made with special reference to personal characteristics.

4. BORDER FIELDS WHICH CONCERN HYGIENE AND MEDICINE

In none of the border fields is the area of social work more difficult to mark off sharply than in that of health and hygiene. Medicine and nursing are professions that have conspicuous human value and contribute greatly to the welfare of the community, but when limited to private practice they would not be called social work. On the other hand, when we come to public health, and to such special activities as anti-tuberculosis campaigns, social hygiene committees, and mental hygiene committees we are at once in doubt. Much of this work has been developed at the instance of social workers, and is organized and administered in co-operation and in analogy with philanthropic service of various kinds. Physicians, however active in such fields, will call themselves physicians and have their main professional affiliations with the medical professional group; public health physicians will obtain their training in medical schools, or preferably in the new schools for public health which are being established. The nurse, on the other hand, is found taking

courses in various of the schools for social work to fit herself for her tasks as public health nurse or county visiting nurse. Besides the nurse we have the hospital social worker, and the psychiatric social worker.

There is at the present time a rather sharp disagreement as to whether hospital and medical social workers would better be recruited from the ranks of nurses who take special work in addition to their technical training, or whether they should be recruited from students of the schools of social work who have been given special instruction in certain aspects of the nursing field, although they would not by any means be qualified nurses. From the point of view of our study, the undesirable feature of the present division of labor is that if the physician who is the professional superior obtains his education in a school of medicine and identifies himself professionally primarily with the medical group, whereas the subordinate person, the nurse or hospital social worker, obtains education in a school for social work and is identified professionally with the group of social workers, this general relationship of the two groups will tend to produce in the public mind corresponding estimates of their proper standing. If we are interested in securing first-class people for the field of social work, we shall not regard with favor a classification which would make social work merely an auxiliary to some other profession. It would therefore be a more logical and in many respects

sounder classification if all these health workers were in the field of social work or else out of it. To have the superior group out of social work and the inferior group in social work is a situation which may be explained by the conditions under which this border field has developed, but is not a position of permanent equilibrium. Perhaps when the education of nurses is made more clearly an educational task and correlated with the education of physicians under a broad policy, the whole may be conceived from a combined scientific and social point of view. It is possible that under such a scheme the present training of the nurse, which is believed by some to be fatal to initiative, and therefore undesirable for the social worker, may be less subject to that defect.

5. BORDER FIELDS WHICH CONCERN RECREATION AND THE ARTS

The difficulty of defining the borders of social work in the general lines of recreational and artistic activities is twofold. On the one hand, we might conceivably use the criterion already found in certain of the other fields and say that a vocation which requires long and thorough preparation in some special body of science, or some art or craft, is likely to be affiliated with that profession or craft which includes those following it without any definite social purpose as well as those who may have this in mind. As with lawyer and physician, so with musician, painter, architect, writer of

drama, the studies and technique outweigh the purpose to which they are devoted. To get public parks authorized by legislatures, and then purchased and administered by municipalities may be the field of a social worker. Planning the parks is the field of the landscape architect. The community pageant may be planned for its social interest; the person who writes it may be filled with the social spirit, but is not likely for that reason to consider his activity as primarily social work. When, however, we come to such occupations as the care of these municipal playgrounds, or of summer camps for city children, or of gymnasium classes, we are in a field which is at present recognized as social work.

The other difficulty in defining the borders of social work in this field comes from the fact that recreation and many types of esthetic interest are primarily left to individual initiative which in many cases is catered to by the commercial agencies of theater, concert, dance hall, billiard and pool rooms. The public makes provision indeed for walking and for many types of games in its parks and playgrounds, but it is a comparatively recent matter for the community to consider the spare time of young people, not to mention that of adults, as being a legitimate matter of social and public interest. City and country, however, are now considering the problem from somewhat different angles. The city is discovering all of a sudden that by covering the ground with offices,

factories, shops, and residences it has, except where there has been fortunate provision for parks, taken no account of the possibility that children might be born and grow up within its precincts. The child in the country had all outdoors for his playground, and it did not occur to the early planners of cities or builders of schools that the city child would have no place whatever for play. The country child, moreover, had occupation provided for nearly all his spare time. Modern life has at once taken away from growing children the opportunity for educative occupations in connection with their homes, and failed to provide places in which they may use the spare time left them by the school. The results in the case of the restive adolescent are pressing more and more upon the attention of the community, and the whole question of recreation and art is being considered from the point of view of social interest. Such a survey as has recently been made in Cleveland under the direction of Rowland Haynes,[1] is an indication of a great field upon which other cities must more and more enter.

In the country, on the other hand, the problem which presses acutely is that young people are leaving the farm and village for the city. Doubtless their primary incentive is the supposedly better opportunity for earning a living and acquiring the larger prizes of life, but one factor

[1] Haynes, Rowland and Davies, Stanley P.: Public Provision for Recreation. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Foundation Committee, 1920.

undoubtedly is the fascinating amusements which the city offers.

It would appear, therefore, that in this group of border fields the task of the educated and trained social worker is likely to be found in answering a question not definitely raised by the skilled artist or craftsman or commercial provider of recreation, namely, "How can the community health, the community good fellowship, the development of the finer tastes in literature, in drama, in music, in color, be met, in so far as neither private interest nor commercial interest is awake to these or concerned with them?" He will summon to his aid the architect, the musician, the artist, the writer of fiction. Possibly in the future we shall not make our division between these professions or crafts and social work by the present standard, which is, to say the least, not flattering to the social worker. At present the person who has a skilled craft or profession of high standing—architect, artist, writer—prefers to be classed as a member of that craft or profession regardless of whether he pursues it for private gain or public service. The director of a summer playground, who has devoted less time to preparation for his task, is more likely to be classed and known as a social worker. He is classed by his purpose rather than by his art or craft.

III

IS SOCIAL WORK PECULIARLY A WOMAN'S PROFESSION, OR DOES IT NEED BOTH SEXES?

IN determining the field of social work one question which may at first appear irrelevant must challenge the inquirer who observes various schools where preparation is now going on. This is: Is social work a profession for women prevailingly if not exclusively? Is the present situation normal and satisfactory as regards the proportion of men and women now engaged in the profession and in preparation for it?

One of the first facts which strikes the observer is that in most institutions women constitute the large majority of students in preparation for social work. The exceptions would be found in such institutions as the Young Men's Christian Association colleges, the divinity schools which offer social training, and the school (scarcely to be classed as training for social work) which trains for personnel administration. Clearly also such institutions as the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health, and the similar School of Public Health at Harvard University, the establishment of which has recently

been announced, cannot be reckoned as schools of preparation for social work. They rather represent the socializing of a profession which will increasingly take over tasks pointed out by social workers.

The pertinence of this question to the main purpose of the present study is this: Is our present system of education and training for social work doing all that the field requires in the way of attracting able men to the profession? Reflection makes clear that the question is very complex, and that the answer to it may have possible bearing upon many problems connected with the future of the schools.

In the first place, although no accurate figures are available as to the proportion of men and women among the social workers of the country, it is evident that a very small fraction are men. Among 475 workers who obtained positions during 1920 through the National Social Workers' Exchange in New York, 47 were men, approximately one in ten. Several of the schools which prepare for social work are connected with women's colleges and intended only for women. Such are the schools of Bryn Mawr College, Smith College, Margaret Morrison Division of the Carnegie Institute of Technology at Pittsburgh. Among schools for both men and women the proportion of men to women is not far from the one in ten noted above.

Two distinct questions present themselves. (1) Is the proportion (say one in ten) about what is to be expected and desired? (2) Granting that

this proportion is normal, does it follow that the proportion of men to women in preparation should be the same as that found in the actual practice of the profession? Or to phrase it otherwise, remembering that at present only a small fraction of social workers obtain professional preparation for their tasks, do the positions filled by men call for less or more education and training than those filled by women? If they call for more, then there ought to be more men in schools than at present. If they call for less, and if the men who fill these positions can equally well obtain their preparation through other agencies, such as divinity schools, engineering schools, schools of business, social science departments in graduate schools of universities, or finally through experience as business executives or school superintendents, then we need not be disturbed because very few are now in training.

As regards the first question, namely, whether the present actual proportion of men in the field of social work is about what may reasonably be expected and desired, it is not possible to give a perfectly clear-cut answer because the profession is so largely still in the making. Certain professions are very definitely recognized at present as men's professions; engineering is such. Despite the fact that university schools of law and medicine are now largely open to men and women, the number of women who prepare themselves for these professions remains very small in proportion

to the number of men. There is little doubt that these will remain prevailingly men's professions. The profession of the ministry is in a somewhat similar status. Teaching in the elementary and high schools is overwhelmingly a woman's profession. In colleges and universities the ratio of women to men is largest in the smaller institutions of the middle and far West, but it shows little or no tendency to increase, even in the state universities of the middle West. The last edition of "Men of Science" shows no marked increase of women in this field, despite the great increase of opportunity, so far as preparation for it is concerned.

It may be and has been argued that social work is in its very nature appropriately a field for women just as law, medicine, theology, and engineering are fields for men. There is no doubt that over considerable areas of social work and for certain types of positions this is true. Women are undoubtedly better fitted to visit homes, to unravel tangled domestic situations, care for little children, counsel the growing girl, minister to many special types of need. And as regards the general problems of society, although from one point of view woman may be less disposed to disturb the settled order, especially as it relates to family, religion, and the *mores* and is, therefore, less likely to be a social reformer or revolutionist, nevertheless, since she regards many of our existing institutions, especially of government and industry,

as not due to her devising, she often has less of that blind and almost worshipful reverence for them which men as a rule seem to absorb from their environment and which renders most men rather blind and insensitive to many crude and barbarous features of government and industry as at present carried on. I have found women frequently less willing than men to assume calmly that cities must be smoky, that streets must be filthy, that industry must kill and maim, that juvenile offenders must be hardened by due process of law into permanent criminals, that children of tender years must be put to work in non-educative employment.

It is likely that this whole disposition of women has not yet reached its full function in challenging existing evils. Increased political opportunity, it is to be hoped, may be accompanied by further increase of responsibility in this direction. But there is at least one feature of the task of the social worker which distinguishes it from the task of the teaching profession and which makes it desirable that a considerable proportion of men should enlist in this field. Social work aids or educates individuals, and for this women may be better fitted; but it also endeavors to change institutions, and for this task both men and women are necessary. Any measure which proposes a change in government or in the management and carrying on of business and industry or farming is likely to be looked upon with suspicion if it is labeled in

advance as a woman's proposition. So long as government and industry are controlled by men it will be easier for measures of improvement or reform to gain a hearing if they have the backing of known, intelligent, vigorous men as well as of sympathetic and forward-looking women. There is likely to be little question as to this. A second point is more controversial.

The existing situation gives occasion for a feeling that there is a discrimination in favor of men which is not always based on merit. Are there certain positions, notably executive positions, which can be filled more acceptably and efficiently by men because they involve either raising of funds or administration of a large organization? It is perhaps the general opinion that an organization with a man at its head will be more successful in its appeal for funds to men of means than an organization headed by a woman. This is reflected in the fact that with a few conspicuous exceptions most of the larger philanthropic organizations have men at the head. It is quite likely that general public opinion is frequently responsible for the selection of a man for an executive position simply because he is a man, with personal qualities supposed to be desirable for raising funds, and without regard to qualifications based on knowledge or experience in the field. It would not be surprising if this should give rise to a feeling that existing conditions are unfair. Experienced and well-educated women naturally resent limi-

tations upon their opportunities which are due not to their own merits but to what they regard as prejudice. The same is true as regards the still more delicate question whether a man is a better executive than a woman irrespective of the particular task of raising funds, although since this second point is one that is more likely to be settled by a smaller group of intelligent observers on the basis of actual experiment, it may be regarded as more hopeful of reasonably early solution than the question of ability in raising funds which depends more upon public opinion at large.

From the point of view of improvement of professional standards and, therefore, of a just appeal to public confidence, it is highly desirable both that the profession should not be regarded as exclusively a woman's profession, and that certain positions in it should not be reserved for men exclusively. Believing that the ideals, personality, and influence of both men and women are desirable for the profession, I am convinced that the best types of men are not likely to enter it in sufficient numbers if the profession is regarded as a woman's profession. This may apply with greater force to young men just considering a career than to those of greater experience who are less influenced by any consideration except that of the immediate task to be done. But I believe it is important. And as regards the second point it almost goes without saying that if a man can be appointed to the highest positions in the profession

chiefly because of his sex, and if at the same time there are relatively few men of education and training available, the higher positions are likely to be filled by men of inferior education and in the long run of inferior capacity.

It would, then, seem desirable not only that there should be a considerable number of men in the profession, but that so long as they have any advantage when higher positions are to be filled there should be an even larger proportion of educated and trained men than of women.

The next question, therefore, is whether anything can be done to attract more men of the right sort to the profession and in particular to induce such men to take a course of education and special training, or whether the causes which influence men in deciding upon their profession are outside the control of our educational institutions.

In the main, men will decide upon their vocation on the basis of other motives than those of the educational facilities. The three chief motives may be broadly described as the economic, the psychological, and the ethical. What are the probabilities of financial return? What kind of work should I like best? In what occupation can I be useful? are questions which the possible candidate for certain at least of the professions is likely to raise. These motives have varying influence with different persons. Some young persons no doubt do not consciously raise the third question at all, but most to whom social work might con-

ceivably make appeal would be likely at least to think of it. And the thought that the occupation is in some sense useful to society would in many cases enter subtly into the answer of the second question; our liking for our job does depend to some degree upon whether we think the job is one worth doing.

With reference to the first question, financial support, there are at least three elements: (1) size of the salary at or near the beginning, for this determines the possibility of establishing a home; (2) the possibilities and limits of advancement, for this measures the standard of living and determines to some considerable degree the subtle elements of class, repute, and ability to accomplish certain things; and (3) permanence of status.

The profession of social work would not be compared with business in point of financial return; nor as regards the prospects of advancement for the more successful with professions of law, engineering, and medicine; nor in point of permanence with the better teaching positions in the institutions of higher education. On the other hand the typical figures which are available would indicate that positions for men in social work are on the whole about as attractive financially as those in the profession of teaching. Figures for the 47 men who obtained positions in social work through the National Social Workers' Exchange in 1920 showed as a median salary for college graduates of less than one year's experience, $2,400; for

those who had experience of one year and less than five years, $2,580; and for the ten men of five years' or more experience, a maximum of $4,500. Inasmuch as these positions were largely in or near New York City, it is likely that the salaries would be somewhat higher than in other parts of the country or in smaller cities. The expenses of living, however, would be to some extent less elsewhere, so that the real value of the salary would probably not vary so greatly. Undoubtedly salaries are also affected in turn by the caliber of the men available to fill the positions. In a letter published in the New York *Evening Post* for February 8, 1921, Robert W. de Forest writes, "The demand was never so great for the trained, capable social worker. Right now I know several high-salaried openings for both men and women of the right training and experience. So far suitable candidates cannot be found."

On the whole, the salary schedule for men in social work will be determined very largely by the salaries of men in those professions which most definitely compete with social work for the service of young men. And those professions will naturally be teaching and the ministry. To some extent administrative or executive positions such as those of secretary of a chamber of commerce may be a factor. The broader question as to whether any of these three professions—teaching, the ministry, social work—is paying a sufficient salary to retain its fair proportion of the able-minded and strong

personalities of the country is one that has been forced upon the thoughtful students of our religious and cultural life. It is, however, closely connected with the next following considerations as to the intrinsic appeal of a profession.

IV

THE INTRINSIC APPEAL OF SOCIAL WORK, AND THE OBJECTIONS FELT AGAINST ENTERING IT AS A PROFESSION

BY the intrinsic appeal we mean the appeal which any occupation makes to a man because he likes to do the kind of thing which the given occupation calls for. One man likes to design buildings, another to speak to audiences, another to prosecute scientific research, another to paint pictures, another to write books, another to teach young people, another to organize the arguments in a legal case and deduce from principles and decisions a convincing support for a claim. What is the specific kind of interest to which social work appeals? There are at least three types of persons who are engaged in various phases of social work: (1) Those whose chief interest is in administration. Such persons do not care so much what it is they administer so long as they administer, whether it is a library or a school system or an asylum or a hospital or a charity organization society or a church. It is an interest in the constant matching and adjusting of means to ends with definite tasks, tests, and successes; if effec-

tively done it gives a stimulating sense of achievement and resulting satisfaction. (2) Those whose chief interest is in persons and their reactions, whether in individuals or groups, whether in children or adults, whether in normal and average folk or in the unusual and different and abnormal. Such individuals in the educational field make good teachers but not necessarily good superintendents. They are in demand for many phases of social work. (3) Those whose interest is in institutions whether political, economic, religious, social; in the working of these institutions upon persons; in the large ends which these institutions are organized to promote; and in the causes for the frequent ill-working of these institutions and for maladjustments between institutions and persons.

There is no doubt then that social work appeals to a fairly wide range of interests and to several types of persons. In this range and variety it may compare very well with the allied professions. In fact so far as these intrinsic interests are concerned, and waiving for the moment the more definite questions to be discussed under objections to social work, it is likely that the occupation might claim at least equal interest with the older and better established professions. The third question in the choice of a profession, its usefulness to the public, has probably been the leading motive thus far with those who have decided for social work. It no doubt blends subtly with motives of intrinsic interest.

During the recent war multitudes of men and women enlisted in various forms of Red Cross work, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association work, Knights of Columbus service, and the like, from patriotic motives, but found a certain intrinsic interest in what they were doing. Particularly was this true of women who had not before engaged in any occupation outside their homes. I have made no attempt at any exact figures for those now studying in various schools, but such statements as I have obtained from certain typical groups indicate that a large proportion of those now studying for social work are doing so because they think it a socially useful profession in which their own abilities may be made to count. In my judgment this will continue to be the prevailing motive in the recruiting of the profession, for there are certain intrinsic disadvantages in the technical aspects of the work which undoubtedly would deter those who were indifferent to the usefulness of the work from selecting it purely for its intellectual or esthetic or personal interest. A mention of certain of the rather obvious objections to the profession which may present themselves to young persons is in point here only as it has bearing upon the situation which institutions offering education and training for social work must take into account when presenting the field to young people and attempting to decide upon their own policies. We may present them in the order of importance be-

ginning with the less and advancing to the more serious. (1) From the point of view of the person with administrative interest, social work has the drawback that its field is after all limited as compared with that of the great business organizations. In the case of public institutions the responsibility for a prison or a hospital may indeed be large and the number of persons cared for be as great as those of a university or of an industrial plant, but rigid legal limitations on the one hand and political contingencies on the other give less freedom and scope for initiative and executive efficiency than do private enterprises. In the field of voluntary agencies the necessity of constant appeal for funds to a group of people harried by similar appeals from an indefinite number of other agencies, and the strain of attempting because of the inadequacy of the means to do in a partial and ineffective way what ought to be done are deterrent.

(2) More important is the second objection, that in social work one is dealing largely with the subnormal, the weaker, the handicapped, or even with the delinquent and anti-social members of society. One may pity these, one may feel that they ought to be cared for, and some individuals take a spontaneous maternal interest in caring for them. But most young people at least like to associate with the normal, the vigorous, and the happy. They feel vaguely that their own development is likely to be greater if they associate with persons above rather than with those below their

own level of intelligence and effectiveness. In its less creditable but nevertheless subtly suggestive form, this leads to the question whether the group of persons engaged in social work is itself the most desirable class with which to identify one's self. And there is no doubt that in times past social work has been liable to the same criticisms and comments as those passed upon the professions of the ministry and of teaching, but with the added sting that social workers are likely to be somewhat warped because constantly brought into contact with the more depressing sides of life, and to be somewhat narrowed because their contacts are not so fully with all sorts and conditions. Emerson in his Lecture on New England Reformers spoke with kindly humor of the peculiarities manifested in his day. William James in his Letters alludes to certain aspects of the profession which were distasteful to his healthy-minded and artistic personality. It is probably true that there is less and less ground for this prejudice, if prejudice it be, as more and more persons of education and all-round sanity and ability enter the profession. But it crops out every once in a while in public print and is undoubtedly to be reckoned with in recruiting the profession.

The most serious challenge to the thoughtful young person considering social work is undoubtedly the question, "Is it worth while?" Stated negatively, it takes such forms as, "Social work does not get anywhere"; "Social work is only a

palliative; it patches up the broken and forlorn or evil-minded, it accomplishes nothing for the great underlying forces which make for the future of humanity. The only fundamental things are to be found either in the biological determinants of a population and of character or else in the fundamental institutions of government, property, industry, and business. Social work touches none of these; it simply supplies a little oil to prevent the machinery from squeaking too loudly, but it neither builds machines nor determines the end to which we shall move by their aid." This objection is not merely repeated from the charges which radical thinkers make against social work. One of the directors of a Jewish philanthropic agency stated to me his opinion that it is one of the serious obstacles to recruiting social workers for their agencies in colleges. It has come to my attention from various groups. Business executives have told me that many social workers have sought places in industry on the ground that they regard economic and industrial problems as more fundamental and, therefore, desire to come into closer contact with business and industry.

It must be frankly admitted that there is a certain amount of relief work, of care for the unfortunate, the defective, and the criminal which has to be done unless society is to take the unthinkable course of painless extinction or of careless indifference toward all such cases. It may also be said that in the past an undue proportion of society's

effort has been devoted to ameliorating the results of pathological conditions rather than to dealing with the causes of such conditions.

Making these admissions, the question which remains is really the crucial question at the present time for institutions which are looking not merely to the immediate demands of present conditions but to the future of the profession. For upon the answer to this question must depend largely their decisions as to entrance requirements, length of curriculum, subjects to be studied, and the point of view which shall control methods and aims. This question is: Shall the profession of social work, in addition to its necessary tasks of relief, of aid to the disadvantaged, and of adjusting personal relations, undertake leadership in the larger and more fundamental tasks of discovering the trends and needs of human society, of studying the underlying forces of every kind so far as they focus upon human welfare, and of attempting to contribute toward reshaping institutions and directing the forces involved, either through the personal activities of the profession itself, or through enlisting the co-operation of experts in all the fields concerned—medicine, law, education, architecture, economic, political and social science, psychology and philosophy, art and letters?

At present this must be regarded as an open question. If it is answered affirmatively, and if there is adequate support for such a conception, there ought to be no question as to the attractive

power of the profession for young men and women of the highest ability, for no profession could offer a more genuinely constructive task. It is not to be expected that this range and scope should find fulfilment in the immediate future. The public will accord leadership no faster than ability is proved, and to a new profession like social work it will be slower to grant opportunity than to the older professions of law, medicine, and the clergy, which have behind them established traditions and which have within their ranks men attracted by the high standing of these professions. And there is, in addition, the distrust of the American people for the expert in any field except under the direction of the layman or man of affairs. But if such a goal is definitely set up, and if able men and women are thereby in increasing numbers attracted to the profession, there will be at least the first and necessary condition for the realization of the first steps toward such a scope for social work.

If the question as to the larger scope is answered negatively, if it is likely that the American people will not wish to use the services of experts of the type outlined, but will consider all these larger questions to be questions of politics and statesmanship, for the decision of which they prefer to trust the common sense of the average man not only as to ends but as to means, then the profession must be modest in its claims upon the services of the more capable young people, and the institu-

tions which are preparing for social work must content themselves with corresponding curricula and with the types of young people who are attracted by other aspects of the work.

PART II

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

V

"EDUCATION" AND "TRAINING." A SINGLE OR A DOUBLE STANDARD?

THE two terms "education" and "training" are used in this report with the intent to emphasize different aspects of the process under consideration. Training suggests primarily the acquirement of a technique; it implies, in Professor Dewey's description, formation of habits with relatively little regard to the meaning of what is done. Vines and trees are trained; animals are trained; soldiers and apprentices are trained. The term is, however, extended also to higher forms of intellectual technique, as when we speak of a well-trained investigator. Education, on the other hand, when distinguished from training, suggests rather an emphasis upon the full meaning of situations and experiences with which we deal. It suggests wide acquaintance with all aspects, and sensitiveness to all elements, of culture and life. It involves methods of observation and inquiry which are more or less rigidly exact according to the subject matter and the progress of science, but it emphasizes the consideration of wide ranges of relevant facts and values. It involves consideration of ends as well as of means.

We think that in order to be competent and efficient a lawyer or physician ought to be both educated and trained. If we must choose between the two we should feel that for those tasks which largely repeat certain unit operations, and are sufficiently routine in their nature to have the technique dealing with them well worked out, we seek training. For tasks which require sympathetic dealing with human nature in its more subtle or complex form, or for problems of novel character for which no technique exists, or for the task of reconsidering the whole aim and method of technique itself we rely rather upon education.

Shall preparation for social work be conceived primarily as education or as training? If we aim at both, what shall be the relative emphasis upon the two aspects? Can previous preparation as found in the college course be regarded as adequate on the side of education, and should the work of the professional school be restricted exclusively or for the most part to training, or must the professional school enter into the larger significance of social problems, basing its consideration upon conditions discovered in practical work and therefore envisaging these problems in a clearer light than is possible in an undergraduate academic stage of education? Or, to state the question in what is perhaps a still more practical form of the problem, Is the same type of education and training desirable for all social workers, or should education be stressed in the case of some, and training

in that of others? Should there be different types of preparation for different tasks—different not merely as the work of family visitor differs from that of probation officer or personnel manager, but different in thoroughness and range, somewhat as the preparation of the nurse differs from that of the physician, or the preparation of the ordinary physician from that of the fully equipped public health physician?

The analogy of the medical profession and its allied profession of nursing may be considered. The specialist and general practitioner differ somewhat in emphasis, but both require more rigorous grounding in pure science than does the art of nursing. This does not in itself carry any implication as to the social value of the services. In many situations good nursing is more important than anything which the physician can contribute. It may also be pointed out that the training given to nurses has not been fully satisfactory in attracting the best types to enter the nursing profession. At one time it seemed likely that college women would find this a useful and attractive field. It is a matter of general comment, whether justified or not it would perhaps be rash for a layman to say, that on the one hand the position of subordination of a nurse, and on the other the method of training which has at times seemed based upon the time-honored principle of Mr. Squeers, have discouraged college women from entering the profession. The position of pastor's assistant in some churches is some-

what analogous. Although we sometimes speak of the work of public education as one work, and those engaged in it as all of them belonging to the profession of teaching, there has nevertheless been a rather well-defined gradation. Elementary and normal schools have formed one system; high school, college, and university another. Normal schools have very largely emphasized training; colleges and universities, education. As has been pointed out recently this separation has been due historically to the taking over from Germany of a class distinction: common schools for the common people; colleges and universities for the superior. We are now wondering whether each has not suffered because of this separation. Nevertheless, no one would question that the tasks of elementary teacher and of university teacher require different personal aptitudes and different preparation. And any practical view of conditions must recognize that although we frequently say, and say with truth, that no education can be too good for the elementary teacher or for the teacher of any other grade, nevertheless it does not follow that the length and kind of education should be alike for all, or that society can afford at present to give to all its elementary teachers so long and full a course of education as it might think ideally desirable.

Coming then to the problem of preparation for social work the question is this: Does the field of social work call for one type or standard of social worker or for more than one, so far as the relative

proportions of education and training are concerned? As this is a matter on which opinions differ it deserves some examination and not merely a dogmatic opinion.

On behalf of a single standard of education and training (with of course a difference of subject matter and of technique for different kinds of work, such as children's work, medical work, rural work, et cetera) the following may be claimed:

1. Assume that two types of preparation were introduced, one for the more routine sort of person, the other for the more original and wider ranging sort; then the tendency would be after graduation for the first group to take up work in family care or other first-hand contact with individual cases and to remain in such work, whereas the second group would seek positions of an administrative or research type. This would be bad for the work and bad for the workers.

It would be bad for the work, (a) because, even in the rather routine types of work to which beginners are usually assigned, there is need not only of the routine mind but also of a continual inflow of intelligent and broadly educated minds in order that routine may not deaden, and in order that the new conditions which a changing society is continually introducing may be met with new courage and new methods. In order to induce such intelligent and well-educated persons to undertake these forms of work there must be no hard and fast separation. The pathway for promo-

tion and advancement to positions of high responsibility must be kept open. (b) It is equally important for the more responsible executive positions that their occupants should have had actual first-hand contact with families and individuals who constitute so large a part of the purpose for which organizations exist.

It would be bad for the worker because a wide experience in dealing at first hand with conditions and cases is the best basis for original constructive activity. It is not well to begin at the top.

2. It would perpetuate some of the present occasions for friction. For, as already noted, there is not infrequent complaint that a man is appointed to be the executive head of an agency who is not familiar with the problems of subordinates.

3. The profession of social work is nothing if not democratic. Its very purpose is to bridge some of the gaps due to class separation. Would it not be a mistake to introduce any such distinction in social work as obtains between physicians and nurses?

On the other hand it may be claimed:

1. There is a genuine difference in the kind of work required in different positions. The woman who can take a group of children for an outing and give them a thoroughly good time has a different task from that of an investigator who is trying to learn the causes of the steel strike. The worker who is to get a shiftless family started on the path to independence and self-respect has a very dif-

ferent task from the framer of social legislation. Some tasks involve a good deal of science; others involve maturity of years and human experience and what we commonly call good sense or judgment, which notoriously cannot be learned from books or lectures.

2. The number of workers who have had even one year of special training is as a drop in the bucket compared with the whole number of those engaged in social work. The expense of academic education is constantly increasing, and if a period of study which is desirable for the research type or which is essential for a broad consideration of the social problem in its larger aspects were to be made the minimum standard, the result would be to discourage a large number of persons from attempting any special training and to discourage the various civic and philanthropic agencies from requiring any such training by their candidates for positions.

3. It may be that the ideally desirable plan would be a uniform standard of academic preparation and a uniform period in length of study such as now is approximately the case in the better schools of law, medicine, theology, engineering. But these other fields are older, and in the case of law and medicine people have become educated to pay such remuneration as will cover the expense of a long and thorough training. The public mind is not yet sufficiently convinced of the necessity of social work to guarantee any such scale of remuneration

for the social worker as that which is recognized as necessary in law, medicine, and engineering. Social work is, perhaps, more nearly comparable with the professions of the ministry and of teaching, but these notoriously are unable to maintain anything like an equal standard for all candidates.

To balance these opposing considerations is a difficult task. One who is not himself in the profession may easily place a mistaken value upon one or another of the factors involved. The writer's present judgment is, that in the present stage of the development of social work there is room for different degrees of training and education. There are many persons of fair education and some experience in dealing with family and business problems, or with young children or the sick, who, with a year of professional training in the methods of some department of social work, would be useful workers in lines which do not require extraordinary initiative but do require careful attention to details, unfailing patience and sympathy, a grain of humor, and a steady persistence which does not allow itself to be unduly elated or discouraged when dealing with what are essentially chronic cases. The person of restless temper, of originative mind, would not easily endure in this type of work.

If, however, the profession is to be at all adequate to occupy and enlarge the field of social work as we have outlined it in preceding pages, it is evident that the broadest possible education in the biolog-

ical, psychological, and social sciences, and in social philosophy is none too great, and that this should be so combined with practical work that the actual problems of society may be met at first hand and grasped in their common-sense relationship as well as in their ultimate scientific significance.

This recognition of two types of training would not necessarily involve any such hard and fast distinction as that between physicians and nurses. There is at present a democracy of feeling which it will be undesirable to destroy. But the plain fact is that so long as we apply the name "social work" to such a variety of tasks as at present are listed under this term it is practically impossible to insist upon a single high type and standard of training. At the recent National Conference of Social Work many kinds and degrees of education and training were represented in the various discussions. The superintendent of playgrounds in a certain city, for example, described how he took for his helpers young people with some ability in games and sports and gave them in a few lessons some orientation in the general purpose and meaning of playgrounds. It would be impractical to restrict service in the playgrounds to persons who have had the same thorough course in social work which is needed in certain other fields; yet so long as we choose to use the name "worker" rather than some more technical name such as "social engineer" or "social economist," it is rather diffi-

cult to deny it to any persons who "work" and are "social" in purpose. The proposed plan of membership in the American Association for Social Workers makes no distinctions except that of seniority, and this is very likely desirable for such a body, but seniority affords little precise aid in determining the fitness of a person for many of the more exacting kinds of service.

Such indications as to kind and thoroughness of education and training as would be desired when responsible positions are to be filled can, however, be made by the schools in degrees or diplomas. The length of the course and type of instruction for the two grades would gradually adjust themselves if the present standard of the better institutions were made a minimum and a broader, more fundamental, and thorough course developed by a few institutions as a new type.

It seems pertinent to add that increasing governmental assumption of what are properly coming to be recognized as tasks of social service is a strong reason for clearer and more precisely defined standards. The proposal to have a division of social service in the projected federal Department of Public Welfare was attacked by George Creel in a journal of wide circulation: "The Kenyon Bill should be amended so as to wipe out the Division of Social Service. The term has come to be a sort of verbal burlap that covers all kinds of junk."[1] And while this might be set down as outside popular

[1] *Collier's Weekly*, June 25, 1921.

opinion, a serious question as to the lack of recognized standards if such a division were created had already been raised within the profession by W. Frank Persons before a conference of the National Social Workers' Exchange. It should go without saying that, if social service is to perform its function properly and to be accorded the place and dignity necessary for that function, a severity of standard comparable to that of other skilled service must be set and maintained. And when we recall that within the memory of the present generation medical preparation in some of the leading states of the Union required no general academic foundation beyond the elementary school and only about a year of professional training, and that legal preparation was not much if any more rigid in its requirements, we need not be impatient in the task of establishing professional standards in a newer field.

VI

THE PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION OF PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

1. THE TWOFOLD PURPOSE

THAT professional schools have two purposes is not always recognized. The ordinary view of a school of law, theology, medicine, or engineering is that its purpose is to educate and train lawyers, ministers, physicians, or engineers. Similarly, the most obvious task of the school of social work is that it should fit men and women to become skilled social workers. Probably most of the schools in the professions above noted have little thought other than this, and in the case of so new a department of professional education as that which we are considering, it would not be surprising if the same conception prevailed. No doubt when the first schools of social work were established about 1905, this was primary. At the same time, the conception of another function was early put forward: namely, that a second function of the professional school, hardly less important, if indeed it is less important than the first, is the development of the field of professional work through *scholarly research* and *publication*. It is interesting to see how large a

part this second function has played in the best schools in the four professions named above.

In the recent bulletin of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, on "Training for the Public Profession of the Law," Mr. Reed says of the Harvard law school in the early years of the nineteenth century:

> It is important to note Dane's original and primary purpose. This was the development not so much of lawyers as of law. With the work of Blackstone and Kent in his mind, he expressly stipulated that Story should be allowed time to publish as well as to teach.

And adds:

> Seldom, perhaps, have the intentions of a benefactor been carried out with greater fidelity, and with more conspicuous success, in the development of a great institution of learning. Story's famous series of treatises on selected branches of the law, published between 1832 and 1845, constituted the first, but by no means the last, direct contribution of the Harvard law school to legal scholarship in the United States.

Judge Cooley's series of publications from the University of Michigan, appearing between 1868 and 1880, were similarly directed toward building up a body of scholarly materials, while in recent years the output of several of the law schools has been notable in both quantity and quality, embracing not only publications in book form but no less than seven journals or reviews. In medicine the *Journal of the American Medical Association* aims to keep the profession as a whole informed of the progress of research, but the actual researches

themselves appear largely in journals published or edited by men in the medical schools. Advance in theology is similarly dependent in large measure upon the activities of those engaged in teaching in the various seminaries. In the field of social work this function has not yet reached full recognition. The National Conference of Social Work, formerly the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which will hold in 1923 its fiftieth annual session, has been longest in the field as a publisher of contributions through its published *Proceedings*. The Russell Sage Foundation has published numerous studies. Individual members of the staff in a few schools have made notable contributions to the literature. But it can hardly be said that the schools as such have as yet made it a general and conscious part of their plan to provide definitely for research and publication by the staff.

It is not, of course, intended to imply that all advance must depend upon the studies and publications of schools. Those who are engaged in actual service in the field itself are no doubt in a position to appreciate keenly the problems, and in certain notable cases they have contributed to the literature. It has been the belief of some that research is best fostered in separate institutions, and it has been shown that such institutions may serve an important purpose in medicine, in law, in engineering, in education. But it is the conviction of many that, at least, certain kinds of research are best done under university conditions where there

is the stimulus from the presence of students, and conversely that for the successful work of the professional school it is essential to combine productive scholarship with the teaching function. The stimulus of working with a group of students is for many, if not for most, scholars a highly valuable incentive to production. And on the other hand, it is universally agreed that education and training of students for productive scholarship can be given only where the teaching staff is itself engaged in this type of work.

In establishing chairs of instruction in schools of social work and in planning the duties of their occupants, opportunity for investigation and publication should be clearly provided, and every encouragement offered to the advance of scholarship. It is generally realized that materials in many parts of the field are woefully meager. Each instructor is obliged to gather them for himself to a very large degree. There are, to be sure, in the larger cities tons of records on file, but they are not available for use in any such form as the records of medical and legal cases. Nor in most cases have they been so carefully and scientifically made as the corresponding source materials in the above fields.

This second function of a professional school presupposes a strong faculty. Beginning their work with little or no endowment, the independent schools could not at first offer the inducement of a permanent, assured position which is so important

in attracting the best instructors. Only with a reasonable degree of permanence assured can a school enter with free and single mind upon a long and arduous task of inquiry and publication. Only one of the independent schools has since secured a solid endowment. Schools or organizations connected with universities have had to meet the financial problem in the different guise of limited appropriations for staff, library, and other equipment. A new type of professional training had to justify itself before it could receive the support given to older lines. Another difficulty attendant upon building a new course of instruction has been that the supply of competent teachers has been limited. Many experiments have necessarily been made, some of which have resulted brilliantly, some in disappointment. It has been necessary to rely in part upon temporary services. Standards have not always been such as retain the men of highest ability.

The net result has been a large turnover in the instructorial staff—too large for the most effective work in solid investigation and publication.

The obviously desirable forward step at this time is to place the instruction upon a higher level of permanence and solidity. It is not to be expected that all schools will reach the same level. Some, for the near future at least, will have to limit their work largely to the task of preparing students for work, using such methods and materials as they can find. But the schools which make the largest

contribution will be those which can perform, also, the second function of raising the standards of instruction by research and publication. Such schools should increasingly attract better students who would in turn stimulate and encourage better teaching.

2. THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL CONTRASTED WITH AN ORGANIZATION OF COURSES IN COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

At present there are at least four types of organization of instruction which may, however, be grouped under two main heads. The four types are (1) the separate school independent of connection with college or university; (2) the definitely organized professional school connected with a college or university; (3) a definite organization of courses under the charge of a single dean or other officer of administration and with a staff of instructors unified for the purpose of such organization, although having also their own departmental status; (4) a loose aggregation or grouping of courses in some one department or from several departments, with little if any administrative unity and with a minimum of professional direction.

Obviously the first two types are in a class by themselves as definitely professional schools. The last type can claim very little of the proper professional environment or purpose. The third type is somewhat intermediate, and is likely to

depend for its character very largely upon the personality of the administrative officer in charge.

Both purposes of the professional school are more likely to be met by institutions of the first and second type. As regards the students, no one who has ever attended a professional school can question the value of *esprit de corps*. To associate closely with a body of fellow-students looking toward a common profession and engaging in frequent discussions as opportunity is afforded by a favorable environment of common class rooms, seminars, library, reading room, and if possible of residence halls, kindles ambition, adds zest to pursuits which are often in themselves rather laborious, maintains a healthy attitude of question and criticism, and above all favors a large conception of the possibilities and tasks of the profession. And the corresponding influence upon the staff of instruction is no less important. An occasional scholar of the pronounced research type will pursue his investigations and publish his articles or books no matter what his environment. But most men do their best work under the stimulus of conference and discussion with other men engaged in the same general task. And many who are entirely competent will never originate such work unless invited and encouraged by suggestions or invitations from others. Such encouragement and suggestion is obviously much more likely to come from a definitely organized professional staff brought together for the purposes above noted.

Taking the other extreme, it is evident that students who are not organized into a definite body and who find themselves only casually together in various courses which are presumed to be useful for social work will have little *esprit de corps*. Furthermore, the courses themselves in such a school will be likely to be deficient in one of the two aspects of all professional work. For all professional work involves not only knowing but also doing. It is an art and a craft, and not merely a science or an appreciation or a philosophy. To secure its proportionate emphasis for this side of professional training is none too easy at best. It is very difficult where instruction is limited to undergraduate courses in a school of liberal arts or pure science, for there the general spirit and attitude is that of knowing rather than of doing. To say this is not to say that colleges and universities should offer no courses whatever in these subjects of preparation for social work. Reasons for this position will come up in discussing the question of the location of professional study in the undergraduate or graduate school. But it does mean that such work should be offered with clear conception and statement of its limitations for professional purposes. Its chief value, as stated later, will be (1) for the very large number of students in women's colleges and state universities who never expect to enter social work, but may well be far more helpful citizens in their communities and more intelligent co-operators with social work if

they have come to understand its problems, even from the purely theoretical side; and (2) for the students who are as yet quite uncertain as to their future careers and ought to have opportunity to gain some introduction to the subject of social work in order to know whether they find themselves attracted by it and are likely to be fitted for it. The "elect" who know that they are called to the profession should aim to get their professional training in schools of the first and second types, or if these are not within their means, then in such well-organized courses as are provided in some institutions of the third type.

VII

LOCATION OF PROVISION FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING

1. SEPARATE SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLS OR DEPARTMENTS CONNECTED WITH COLLEGES OR UNIVERSITIES

AS IS shown by Dr. Steiner in his monograph, Education for Social Work,[1] the first schools for the training of social workers grew out of the needs of philanthropic agencies and have been largely under the guidance and control of those directly engaged in social work. They did not originate with educational authorities who had seen a need and were moved to meet it.

There can be little question that this close contact with the agencies of relief and guidance has served a twofold purpose. First and most important, it has kept the growing course of training closely in contact with the growing needs and with the active centers of social work. Methods and needs have changed rapidly within the past twenty-five years, and it has been desirable that in such circumstances courses of instruction should be fluid. Closely connected with this has been *esprit de corps* that has been fortunate in the way of

[1] Steiner, Jesse F.: Education for Social Work, University of Chicago Press, 1921.

maintaining confidence on the part of the philanthropic agencies in the work of schools. It might have been difficult to secure this if the schools had been organized and enclosed by academic bodies. The second important result has been the reaction of some at least of the schools upon the social agencies. Close contact has stimulated to wider reading and more enlightened effort those members of the staffs of the various agencies who have taken part in the work of instruction in the schools. Streams of influence have flowed in both directions.

In some cities it may well be that this mutual relation is so profitable that it should be maintained as the best method of meeting the needs of the city. It is, furthermore, quite likely that this separate location and organization has tended to secure a more complete recruiting of the social agencies from the schools than might have been the case if these had been departments of universities. Practically all graduates of such schools look toward social work. And it is not always true that graduates of professional schools enter the profession for which they are supposed to be preparing.

On the other hand, there are possible drawbacks in the plan of separate schools. John S. Kennedy, in his letter to the president of the New York Charity Organization Society, which is quoted by Dr. Steiner (page 18), wrote: "I have also considered the possible desirability of establishing the School as a department of some university, but

have decided it should preferably be connected directly with the practical charity work of the city in analogy rather to training schools for nurses which are connected with hospitals, than to any separate university department."

The analogy to training schools for nurses suggests an aspect of these schools which has not been fully desirable. The hospital training schools for nurses have notoriously not been managed with an eye single to the best training of nurses. Methods of instruction have been in some cases superficial. Instead of laboratory work and thorough study of anatomy and physiology, nurses have studied from textbooks and listened to rather hastily given lectures contributed by physicians who have not always taken them as serious tasks. Judging from comments which have been rather freely made by students and teachers in the schools for social work, while there is no question of any deliberate or conscious purpose of agencies to exploit the services of students at the expense of their education, yet there have been difficulties in making the educational needs of the students and the practical work of the agencies march together. The schools have desired to bring in for lectures notable workers in the field, and on the other hand to give to their students opportunities for practical service under the direction of executives of marked ability.

The plan of bringing in well-known social workers and lecturers has undoubted merits in presenting interesting and stimulating personalities, but it is

very difficult to co-ordinate their lectures in such a way as to present any well-arranged and logical system. One graduate told me that in a series of thirty lectures by different workers in a certain division of the field every lecturer began with a more or less extended statement of the origin and development of his field of work, so that by the end of the thirty lectures there had been considerable duplication, to state it mildly. A more serious difficulty has been met in the organization of field work in such a way as to be valuable for the students and not too wasteful for the agency, which of course is not maintained primarily for the purpose of training students. This will be considered under the special head of Field Work.

Passing over minor matters and recognizing the force of the considerations which determined original foundations, let us consider the more important issues involved at the present time.

The chief reason for a separate organization and independent control of schools of social work as stated substantially, although not in these words, by a thoughtful and prominent social worker may be put frankly as follows:

We are aiming to develop a new profession. The persons to develop it are the persons who are actively at work in it. We are breaking new ground in methods and in the whole science and technique of the subject. We ought to be entirely free from rigid traditions; we ought also to be free in our own professional point of view as to social

problems. We do not want to have our methods determined by academic methods suitable for other subjects but not necessarily for this. We do not want to have our point of view set for us and our liberty of teaching controlled by the views upon economic or religious or political or social matters which may be deemed essential by the authorities of colleges and universities. We are therefore not yet ready to entrust the development of the profession to institutions that are not necessarily in sympathy with our particular objective. Our views may not be sound, but the only way to find out is to develop them and see what the outcome will be. We can be held responsible for our own work; we are not willing to surrender this responsibility to another profession.

The main arguments for identification, or at least close connection of schools for social work with colleges or universities, are similar to those which have led to the increasing incorporation of professional schools of law, medicine, theology, and engineering with universities. They are as follows:

(1) As the professions have a broad scientific basis, they need contact with institutions in which the fundamental pure sciences are taught and advanced; and this both because of the stimulating contacts of workers in the two fields of pure and applied science, and because of the convenience for students who have not in their previous academic work taken the foundation sciences and desire to

make good such deficiency or preparation, or to accompany professional work with further work in pure science and thus make themselves especially useful in special fields.

(2) The liberalizing and scientific influence which is more or less felt by a professional school located in a university. Any profession pursued in isolation tends to stereotype its methods, to limit its courses to those demanded by the active practitioner, and to be rather lax in its standards for admission. Association with those engaged largely in research and in the cultivation of other arts and sciences promotes a spirit of research and tends to the introduction of material from many sources. This material may not be essential for the immediate purposes of the practitioner, but it contributes in the long run to keep the profession abreast of the progress of civilization.

As regards the merit of these opposing views it may be admitted freely that there has been good ground for the desire of social workers to establish schools under their own auspices. There has been, and in some cases there may be still, good reason to distrust the placing of the schools and the ideals of the profession under the control of institutions organized for other purposes and without any very intelligent grasp of the aim and scope of a new profession. With the best of intentions many educational authorities would have difficulty in understanding just what is needed. On the other hand, it is probably true that this argument is

losing in force each year with the growth and clearer definition of social work, and with the enlarging vision of many at least of the colleges and universities. We may make a profitable division of our discussion by considering separately localities having state universities, and localities (chiefly the Atlantic coast) not having state universities. The situation is clearer in the former case than in the latter.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK IN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY SERVED BY STATE UNIVERSITIES

In the middle and farther West, and to some extent in the South, the state university has grown up in close contact with the whole public school system and has maintained an alert interest in varied types of needs among the people served by it, whereas the older eastern institutions have aimed more directly at education of leaders in various fields and have definitely restricted their types of service so that most of them would have looked askance at any suggestion of scientific agriculture and would have been shocked by mention of domestic arts in colleges for women. The state universities have not hesitated to embody these and other types of education and training. They have believed that their people needed well-trained lawyers, but have felt it quite as important that they should have well-educated farmers. They have provided medical schools but have not conceived it as beneath their dignity to establish departments of education, of pharmacy,

or of domestic arts and sciences. They have gone far toward working out a fairly uniform policy as to the relation between professional subjects and the fundamental courses in general science or liberal arts. The atmosphere of these universities is likely to be sympathetic with the general purpose of a school for social work, although individual instructors may doubtless be hard of heart. It is therefore entirely in accord with the natural course of development in these universities that Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Oregon, California, Michigan, Nebraska, and Wisconsin have already organized work in this field, or are proceeding in this direction. Others are likely to follow.

One fact which has, perhaps, delayed the organization of such departments in the state universities is that many of these universities are in towns or small cities, whereas the need for social service has been most acutely felt in great cities. The University of Missouri has organic relations with the school in St. Louis; Michigan will arrange for its field work in Detroit. The same problem which was formerly felt by some of these universities in providing clinical work for medical schools arises in case of schools for social work. However, it is now coming to be recognized that country life has its problems which are social problems as truly as they are agricultural problems. To meet these twofold problems comprehendingly the state universities seem particularly well situated.

It is safe to say, therefore, that in the middle and far West and likewise in the South, education and training for social work will naturally be developed at the state universities.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK IN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY NOT SERVED BY STATE UNIVERSITIES

The northeastern states and certain large cities not served conveniently by state universities present a separate problem. It is in the northeast that are located, on the one hand, the independent or partially independent schools for social work, and on the other, colleges and universities which either have, or until recently have had, no department of this sort. The reasons for the existing situation here are clear. In part they have been referred to in the preceding paragraph. Colleges for men, organized before the day of social work, and for the most part preparing for a very definite group of professions, could hardly have been expected to establish departments for a profession in which so few men engage. Colleges for women have been very largely governed in their curricula by the example of colleges for men. Even though colleges for women had conspicuously as one of their aims the preparation of teachers, they were long distrustful of granting any recognition to the so-called professional aspects of the training of teachers. Eastern universities have been for the most part an outgrowth of men's colleges and

have carried along with them the academic traditions of their parents. They have been slow to admit women to full privileges; they have been hospitable to professional schools of law, medicine, and theology, but rather dubious as to the wisdom or duty of the professional training of teachers or of engineers. Small wonder that they have not been impressed with the desirability of entering upon the field of education for social work. It is only in a somewhat anticipatory sense that one reads the eloquent plea of Professor Frankfurter at the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Baltimore, in 1915, when he said, "the university is the workshop of our democracy. If it is not that, it has no excuse for being." At any rate there are many kinds of work which have not yet been undertaken in the workshops of the older universities of the East. It of course would be absurd to say that every university ought to include every kind of professional education, and yet just here belongs the consideration that this matter which we are discussing has a bearing upon the welfare of the universities as truly as on the welfare of schools for social work. As Mr. Frankfurter pointed out in this same address, "the university needs a school for social work." Just as physics, chemistry, and especially biology are stimulated by the presence of medical or agricultural work toward which students of these sciences are moving, and as history and political science gain reality by the presence of a law school, and the

department of economics by a school of commerce and business, so the social sciences are both stimulated and placed in relationship to life by education for social work.

Certain of the older colleges and universities have moved in this direction; Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, McGill, Montreal, Toronto, among the universities; Smith College, Bryn Mawr, Goucher, and Mary Morrison Division of the Carnegie Institute of Technology offer courses, and several of these have established definite schools. In the West, Cleveland has its school provided by the Western Reserve University, and in Chicago the independent School of Civics and Philanthropy has become a part of the University of Chicago.

The trend is clearly evident. In the future, independent schools are not likely to be established unless it be (a) in a large city not served by a great university, or (b) in a city where the university is not sufficiently interested or sympathetic to make it wise to entrust provision for education and training for social work to its auspices. As regards the present status of the few existing schools which are now under separate organization, their future may in part be foreseen from what has been said and from the general tendency of schools of medicine, theology, law, and so forth, to seek relationship with universities. Yet there doubtless are cases where any hasty abandonment of present organization would be unwise. It may be also that in a city of 6,000,000 inhabitants the situation is

so different from that in any other city as to make two somewhat distinctive types of training possible without an unwise duplication of expenditure. Certainly it seems to be the tendency of Columbia and its closely related Union Theological Seminary to provide an increasing number of courses, some of which have provision for field work, along the lines of our study. In a university which is so closely in touch with the varied needs of a great city as is Columbia, particularly in its extension division, expansion in this direction is natural. And the association with public agencies which would naturally accompany development of practice work would be a considerable influence toward maintaining contact with actual needs and conditions.

2. WHERE SHOULD TRAINING FOR RURAL SOCIAL WORK BE CARRIED ON?

Schools for social work have thus far naturally been located chiefly in cities. The solicitude of the social worker was for the city. Charitable societies were organized there; the pioneer social settlements were made in London, in New York, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, and in Boston; Jacob Riis and others of lesser eloquence convinced us that the city was the true frontier, at once the crisis and the hope of democracy; all the forces which made the city our leader in styles of dress, in amusements, in business, in industry, in finance, in journalism, in medicine, focused attention upon

the city as a field for social work. Without going to the length of Thomas Jefferson's comparison of the great cities to sores upon the body, we may yet admit that they are a center of attention.

Yet if the unceasing flow of the stream of youth from the country and the stream of immigration from the Old World draw our thought irresistibly toward their meeting place in the great cities, it is wise to look back also to the sources of that stream which selects certain country types, draws them to the city and has almost no return current of wealth or education to compensate the regions whence it is sent forth.

There are two types of rural work. The first, with some individual differences, is similar to the work of the family visitor or probation officer or public health nurse in the city. There are illegitimate children born in the country whose mothers need wise counsel; there are neglected children; there are ill-kept, meager homes. There is occasionally very real poverty, for although the farmer is never out of a job, he not infrequently has failures of crops or is unable to sell his crop for the cost of production. The ordinary city laborer is more or less at the mercy of business conditions which reach him indirectly through slack seasons, but he seldom has the added burden of laboring long hours for a year and finding that he has no wage coming to him. Nevertheless, the problem of rural poverty is not ordinarily one for charitable relief. The farmer manages to get along with little expendi-

ture of money and is frequently able to borrow in the hope of a better year. The local bank or storekeeper is for this purpose often a social agency. Neighbors are helpful in sickness, and on the whole it may be said that there is a rather limited field for these more ordinary types of social work which have been developed in the city. Workers to supply these specific needs might be trained in city schools, although it would be desirable that, unless country bred, they should get part of their training in an institution where there is a rural environment.

The second field of rural work, which perhaps could scarcely be called social work without giving rise to misunderstanding, is not work for the subnormal or exceptional individual or family or group, but rather for the whole rural community. The publications of the American Country Life Association give a broad view of this field. There is an economic problem. In some regions where the single staple crop of wheat or cotton or tobacco or corn is the main reliance, the fluctuations of markets are the index to the prosperity of the region in general, although local crop failures may mean a calamity to a limited area. In other regions where mixed farming is the rule the farmer may not experience the extremes, but is nevertheless conscious, despite his best efforts, that he is able to save nothing and must live in a very meager fashion. Mr. Baruch in a recent article has stated that although about half the population is in rural communities, only one-fifth to one-fourth

of the annual national gain is received there.[1] Agricultural colleges, county home demonstration agents, and farm bureaus are aiding both in the improvement of production and in the organizing of co-operative methods of marketing. The banking system has begun to consider the farmer's problem, which includes the securing of working capital for the expensive operations of planting, tilling, and harvesting, and especially for a more intensive use of land, and further the necessary credit for awaiting a favorable market.

But the economic problem is not all. Dr. Bailey, who was chairman of the Commission on Country Life, appointed by President Roosevelt, tells how at one of their hearings in a fairly prosperous part of the middle West farmers were asked to tell their grievances or troubles, and at first they presented none. It developed, however, a little later in the hearing that many farmers who had prospered financially did not remain on their farms but moved into towns or small cities in order to educate their children and to have other advantages which they lacked at home. "This seems to indicate," said Dr. Bailey, "that if people are trying to get away from the farm and the country, conditions are not so perfect." Taking the country over, there can be little question that the opportunities for education, for recreation, and for fostering a healthy ambition are not so great in the country as in the city. It is indeed necessary that some of the young

[1] The *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1921, p. 119.

people should leave the farm if there is more than one son in the family, but is it so inevitable that the more energetic and ambitious should leave, or that parents should feel obliged to leave country homes in order to give their children a fair opportunity? One line of solution may be a different educational unit. When the population of the country was practically all a rural population it was no doubt calculated to encourage local responsibility and interest to make a small district or township or county the unit for supporting schools. But now when the situation has so radically changed that on the one hand the city expects the country to furnish it with young men and young women ready to take their places in its industries and offices, and on the other hand to do all this work of raising and educating children on such a disproportionate distribution of wealth as Mr. Baruch asserts to exist, it would seem that a reconsideration of the whole basis of taxation for the support of schools is in order.

And the problem of recreation in the country is also difficult. This is especially acute with the young people. Separation of families has been lessened greatly by telephone and the automobile, and yet the atmosphere is different. The difficulty of being away from home at the time of the evening meal is not favorable for one of the simplest and most permanently enjoyable forms of recreation for city people, that is, dining together. Commercial entertainments are usually infrequent

and are often not of the best quality. In the summer the farmer and his wife are both too busy to seek recreation, and in the winter the weather is frequently a deterrent. To meet all these difficulties and aid communities to organize their recreation or to find types which can really hope to succeed, is a much more difficult task than that which confronts the director of the city playground or gymnasium or dramatic club or choral society.

To understand these larger and more fundamental problems and to learn how to aid country people in meeting them is not a task that would seem to be most propitiously undertaken in a city environment. These problems would seem to be appropriate for the state university where that unites the agricultural college with the college in which the social sciences are pursued. In the states where this is not the case the separate agricultural college, since it is already in co-operation with the farm bureau for rendering a part of this service, might well undertake a further extension of its field to cover these educational and social problems. Some experiments in this direction have begun at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, where during the past year students from the Boston School of Social Work and the Springfield Young Men's Christian Association College have been in attendance in order to understand better the needs and the point of view of country life.

In this connection especial interest attaches to some of the work in other departments going

forward at the University of North Carolina which is closely related to preparation for rural social work. The Department of Rural Economy, under the leadership of Professor Branson, has undertaken studies of local needs and resources in various counties and publishes a bulletin for the newspaper press which keeps the state informed of what is being done and what needs to be done in the country. The Department of Dramatic Art, under Professor Koch, is at work upon another highly significant line. It is not only promoting the study and presentation of good plays by amateur groups throughout the state; it is stimulating its students to study the dramatic values of their own countryside and to express these in plays which are proving deeply interesting to the people, for in these plays they see some of the tragedy and comedy, the humor and pathos of their own daily life. In the presence of work of this character it is easy to wonder whether the best art is so dependent upon a city environment as is popularly supposed.

It is held by some that the same reasons which are compelling for the location of medical schools in the city obtain also for preparation for all phases of social work. The analogy, however, is only partially just. The diseases of the body are largely independent of the difference between urban and rural environment. The anatomy and physiology of the patient as well as the habits of the bacteria which invade his organs are essentially the same in city and in country. The operation of drugs is

in the main independent of social environment. But the problems of country life are not those of the city. They are indeed to a considerable extent created by the cities, and cannot be understood apart from broad consideration of the whole situation. But to envisage village or country life while in the midst of a great city in such a way as to have any real consciousness of either the problem or the methods of dealing with it is nearly as difficult as to deal with New York's problems of education, sanitation, and government from the vantage ground of Gopher Prairie.

Two comments made to the writer on two successive days well illustrate the peculiar problems of city and country. The first came from a superintendent of a city agency. "The girl who comes to us from the country," she said, "is at first naturally timid. She is fearful as to what she may encounter in the back tenement on the fifth floor in a rather uncertain-looking neighborhood. It frequently takes a good while for her to become so habituated to city environment as to be competent and resourceful in our work." The other statement came from a director of rural work: "The city girl who comes into the country to do social work finds that instead of being protected by the ever-present crowd in which she as an individual is lost, she is under constant observation by the village or the neighborhood. In the city she takes her assignment, goes her way, and no one but the person on whom she calls knows of her goings and comings. In the

country the all-seeing eye of the vicinity knows when she reaches her office, when she leaves it, whom she visits, and if it does not know why she visits a particular home is likely to be unsatisfied until it learns. The strain is too great for the city-trained worker, and many of them simply funk." Of course, in so far as there are ill-nourished and neglected children, delinquent boys and girls, illness and want, there are certain points in common. But even in such cases, causes are not identical, and treatment cannot be the same where there are no such agencies available as are available in the city.

It does not follow that the whole course of preparation for the student of country life should be in the country; probably it ought not to be, for he needs to understand the psychology of the city and its drawing power; he needs to see all the methods in operation which have been devised to meet the city problems and be kindled by contact with a large body of fellow-workers; but a large part of it may well be there. He cannot meet country problems by transferring city machinery or doing city "stunts." He must live himself into the country situation and learn to think in terms of rural psychology if he is to effect results of a permanent sort. To get this atmosphere and to grasp the real problems it seems desirable, and many think it essential, that a considerable part of training and education be in an institution where country life actually exists.

VIII

SHOULD EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK BE REGARDED AS A GRADUATE OR AN UNDERGRADUATE MATTER?

IF education and training for social work is organized in connection with a college or university, should it be placed in the graduate school, or should it be treated as undergraduate work? In the case of separate schools a similar question arises in different form, namely, how far shall graduation from college be required for entrance? It is answered somewhat differently by existing schools, some of which require a college education or its equivalent, whereas one makes no requirement of academic study, but places the emphasis upon personal qualifications that promise usefulness and success.

The reason for locating professional training and education in the graduate rather than in the undergraduate division is broadly the reason which leads Harvard and Johns Hopkins to require a bachelor's degree for entrance to their medical schools and which leads the best theological schools to make a similar requirement. In the case of social work, morever, there is a particular reason for re-

quiring maturity in the candidate. The situations in which a social worker is expected to give advice are frequently very complicated and require mature judgment; further, the very first condition of success in meeting and influencing persons is a certain poise and dignity which are usually gained only with age and experience. It is held that four years of college work and one or two additional years of graduate work are none too much for either the academic training or the personal maturity that is desirable.

The reason for introducing education and training for social work as a part of the undergraduate curriculum is twofold. In certain colleges which have no graduate department, there seems to be a strong demand by the students themselves and by the community served by the college for preparation in this field. Just as such colleges have introduced departments of education in order to meet the vocational need of part of their students, so they introduce education and training for social work. At the state universities the situation is somewhat different. The case there is rather that at present it is not felt that a wholly separate graduate professional school is warranted. On the other hand, it is believed desirable to give preparation which will at least be valuable for volunteer workers, and the arrangement for this can be made in analogy to certain other types of courses, such as engineering or agriculture which follow for two years a general curriculum and then devote the

third and fourth year of undergraduate work to more technical study.

In the case of certain universities where the work of law and medicine is arranged by the so-called telescoping plan by which the first year (or first two years) of professional work may also be counted as the fourth (or the third and fourth years) of work for the bachelor's degree, it would be perhaps natural to expect a two- or three-year course of which a part should be undergraduate and part graduate. Some universities by organizing undergraduate courses in the social sciences which form a suitable foundation for professional courses are tending in this direction.

With the separate schools the question arises from a somewhat different angle. It seems to be rather a question of personal as compared with academic qualifications. On behalf of requiring the college degree it may be said that although this is by no means a guarantee of sound preparation, it is at least an objective test which is easy to apply and which on the average is likely to exclude the hopelessly unfit. And in the second place it is important for successful work that there should be a certain degree of homogeneity on the part of the students. It does not follow that the graduates of different colleges will have had just the same undergraduate studies and thus the same foundation on which to build; nevertheless, there is a certain common basis in methods of work and in contacts (or lack of contacts) with life and

society which makes a group of college graduates easier to work with than a mixed group.

The advocates of basing admission to professional work upon other qualifications, some personal, some falling under the blanket term "experience," urge that some college graduates are failures in social work and some persons with other types of preparation are highly successful. They claim, therefore, that it would be a loss to the field of social work and an injustice to individuals if the college degree were made a necessary prerequisite.

Let us take up these differing views in succession, considering first the desirable placing of the work as graduate or as undergraduate, when it is connected with a university having both these curricula; second, the question whether colleges having no graduate department should attempt undergraduate professional work in this field; and third, whether the schools which are wholly or largely independent of university or college connections should make a bachelor's degree a condition of entrance.

In the case of the university I do not think that at present a single hard and fast rule can be laid down. It depends upon the community served by the university and upon the stage of development of graduate and professional work in the university itself. In the newer communities of the western states two factors are likely for the present to be decisive. First, as the state universities are frequently less closely in contact with great cities

the need for training professional social workers for city work is less pressing, and an attempt to place all such professional study upon a purely graduate basis would probably mean that very few would take it. In the second place, in these state universities other professional work is rarely if ever entirely graduate in character. As already stated, agriculture and engineering are undergraduate largely; law and medicine are partly so. A large number of professional students in these lines either have no academic bachelor's degree or else secure one by counting part of their professional study toward this degree. The student in these communities is likely to feel the desire to leave college and go into some kind of active life after four years. Where this university has a strong graduate department or where the professional schools have at least part of their work on a graduate level, it is desirable to give social work this standing. But in the great agricultural states it is likely that the social service which most students can render will be as volunteers or as non-professional, socially minded citizens of the community, and to give education to this large group is an important service which can be perhaps better rendered through an undergraduate than through an exclusively graduate curriculum.

With the older universities of the Atlantic coast, or with universities located in great cities where there is a well-organized graduate standard of professional work, it is undoubtedly better that

education and training for social service should be either on a graduate basis or else organized on the plan of certain university professional schools which permit entrance upon purely professional work at the end of the third year. This plan accordingly provides a professional course of study extending through two or more years, of which one year is undergraduate and the remainder graduate. The advantage of this latter plan over a purely graduate school is that if the student in his senior year may select professional studies it gives a certain definiteness and reality to his work and is perhaps likely to carry him on more certainly into a further year or years of graduate professional work than a system which postpones selection of professional work until after graduation.

The question whether a college which offers no graduate work should attempt any professional education and training for social work is one that affects colleges for women, primarily or exclusively. Colleges for men would not have sufficient students interested in such work unless there should be a decided shift not yet apparent in the attractiveness of this field for young men. If there were no peculiar objection it might be assumed that in colleges for women the same reason would exist for offering professional instruction in the field for social service, which leads certain of these colleges to offer at least a certain amount of professional courses in education. Some of their students are to be teachers. If the colleges can make them

better teachers by giving them professional training and education for this purpose, it would seem to be a service to the public as well as to the students so to do. It might seem no more inappropriate to meet a similar demand in the case of those students who are to enter social work. But there is felt by some to be an objection to this from the fact that social work requires greater maturity than an undergraduate can have, and further that some of the aspects of field work are undesirable for the undergraduate.

Here again we have to consider the actual alternative. It is not a question whether a given number of persons shall take professional preparation as graduates or as undergraduates; the practical question rather is whether a certain number shall take this as undergraduate or whether a few out of this number shall take it as graduate work while the rest do not take it at all, and either go into social work with no professional preparation or do not enter social work at all. If professional social work were as remunerative as the professions of law and medicine, it might be possible to hold more students for graduate work. But at the present this is far from being the case. Some who might be inclined to enter social work if they could gain preparation for it as undergraduates would be deterred by expense if they must add a fifth or sixth year of study before entering upon any active work. In view of this my opinion is that in the present status of social work it is wise for col-

leges in which there is a reasonable demand for such work or in which the presence of a school of social work would evoke a reasonable number of candidates, to offer professional instruction to undergraduates in their final year, preceding it by suitable foundation courses. Colleges situated in cities would be likely to be more sensitive to this demand, but it may well be that other colleges would find an opportunity in rural conditions for certain types of training which would meet the needs of some at least of their students.

Finally we come to the question of the separate school. In the first place, is it desirable that there should be one policy in all schools? Those who would hold to a single standard might perhaps say: How can we make progress in securing a professional status for the social worker unless the schools have a single standard? If it means one thing to graduate from one school and another thing to graduate from another, we shall be in the unfortunate condition in which the professions of law and medicine have been until recently. The degree in those professions for a long time meant little unless the name of the school were added. Is it not better to agree upon some standard and work toward it rather than to permit a variety of standards?

It is possible to recognize the force of this challenge and yet to believe that such a single standard is not to be set and enforced simultaneously in all schools. Perhaps the question may seem to be prejudged in what has been previously said as

to the encouragement of both graduate and undergraduate work in universities and colleges. The point that would seem to be clearest is that a fairly uniform basis is desirable for those who are to be instructed in a single group; and a second point is rather closely connected with this which may be stated in terms of Gresham's law: "A lower standard tends to drive out a higher." College graduates on the whole will go to a school where the standard of instruction and the prevailing tone of the group are those of the graduate school. If the group of persons without college training in any school is large enough to affect either the standards of instruction or the general social atmosphere, college graduates will not go there. College graduates do not habitually go to schools for nurses; and in the case of men, college graduates of better colleges like to go to those law, medical, and theological schools where college graduation is made a prerequisite for admission.

The inference is clear: schools which desire college graduates should make sure that the large majority of their students are college graduates; that instruction is adapted to the standard of college graduates; and that, if possible, college graduates and those not college trained should be given separate instruction unless possibly in the case of lecture courses. Even in this latter case an instructor will almost inevitably find himself shaping his lecture somewhat differently if he is

lecturing to a graduate group than when lecturing to a mixed group or a group not college trained.

It is, however, quite likely that some schools may find that they are better meeting the needs of their constituency by admitting both graduates and others, at least for the present. If so, let those schools which desire college graduates and are in a position to hold to this standard do so with, perhaps, an occasional exception for a highly exceptional person. Let candidates without college education find their opportunity at other schools until there is at least a larger proportion of professionally educated workers in the field. At present, when the proportion of workers who have had any professional education and training is so small, at least in many cities, it seems premature to insist that there shall be no provision in any schools for the person with the desirable personal qualifications to enter the profession without a complete college course.

Yet the last word on this subject ought not to be one of adaptation to present conditions.

It is probable that for a good while to come social agencies will take beginners with little or no professional preparation; it is probable that for a good while to come many persons of good personal qualifications who feel unable to incur the expense of proper preparation will offer themselves to these social agencies and be accepted. The schools cannot change this condition all at once; but they need not feel that they have necessity laid upon

them to provide some degree of education and training for every grade of worker. Their great contribution will be increasingly not so much to provide a something which shall be better than nothing as to raise the standard of excellence. They will accomplish this first, by providing better educated and trained candidates, and second, by forming centers of research, publication, and general professional interest which shall co-operate effectively in raising the level of social work and thereby contribute also to attract abler persons into the profession.

And so we again are brought to face the same issue already raised from a different angle. How broadly and thoroughly shall the task of social work be conceived?

IX

THE PRESENT SITUATION AS REGARDS ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

IT IS not easy to make any precise statement or to present statistics which give an adequate or trustworthy picture of just what the entrance requirements are in most of the institutions which offer education and training for social work. There are about forty in all. Only a few of them announce their entrance requirements clearly and definitely, and give lists of students with their previously acquired academic degrees. Only about these few institutions, therefore, are definite statements possible. They can be classified broadly as (1) exclusively graduate; (2) exclusively undergraduate, usually limiting professional work to the fourth, or to the third and fourth years of the regular undergraduate course; and (3) including both graduate and undergraduate courses. In the institutions coming under the third head, however, specific courses are designated for undergraduate students followed by the Bachelor's degree, and a distinctly specific curriculum for graduate students is laid out and is followed by the Master's degree.

TABULAR VIEW OF ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS

Class A. Professional Schools for Social Work, or Organizations of Courses in Connection with Universities or Colleges of Liberal Arts.

I. Bachelor's degree as the norm:
   1. Bachelor's degree required of all entrants.
   2. Bachelor's degree required of candidates for an advanced degree (A.M., S.M., or Ph.D.). Special students, not candidates for a degree, admitted also.
   3. Bachelor's degree "or its equivalent" required of candidates for diploma. Special students admitted also.

II. Bachelor's degree or three years of college work, leading for the first group to an advanced degree (as in I, 2), and for the second group to a Bachelor's degree.

III. Two years of college work.

IV. Graduation from a technical school (School of Nursing).

V. Graduation from a high school.

Class B. Professional Schools Intended Primarily for Other Professions than that of Social Work.

I. Theological Seminaries or other Religious Training Schools.
   1. Bachelor's degree required of entrants.
   2. Bachelor's degree required of candidates for degree or diploma; special students admitted also.
   3. High School.

II. Engineering Schools, Personnel Schools, Municipal Administration Schools.

Uncertainty begins even in the schools which nominally are graduate in character and which are really so if measured by the prevailing character of their student body. The requirement

which reads "college graduation or its equivalent" is one form of uncertainty; the other gives the formula "special students not candidates for a degree may be admitted to courses which in the judgment of the instructor they are qualified to pursue." In general, the independent schools are likely to follow the former plan and to present a diploma without discriminating between those who have and those who have not had a college course. In some cases they make a distinction based on the length of attendance in their own institution, giving a diploma for a two-year course and a certificate for a one-year course. On the other hand, institutions of the type of universities or colleges of liberal arts usually prefer to guard their degrees strictly and deal with special students as incidental members of classes, giving them in some cases a special certificate to indicate work actually done. The real difficulty in all of these cases is greatest where graduate students, undergraduate students, students "with the equivalent of a college education," students "with experience," and special students are all admitted to the same courses. As every teacher knows, instruction is inevitably determined not merely by the subject, but by the constituency of the class to which it is presented or with which it is discussed. Unconsciously, it may be, the instructor fixes on some level as determining his selection of material, the amount of information and the maturity of thought which may be assumed in the student, the kinds

of questions which he will raise, the degree to which he will enter into the subject, the amount of co-operation in the discovery and analysis of material upon which he can count. If a class of 20 has 15 well-trained college graduates who have also had thorough grounding in social sciences, the work will almost inevitably be adjusted to the level of these students, and the five individuals of diverse training will more or less adapt themselves to the situation; they will not expect the course to be addressed primarily to their needs. On the other hand, if the course be composed largely of those without academic background, but with long practical experience, the instruction and discussion may take for granted certain other information and will inevitably address itself primarily to the non-academic type; there may be a certain number of college graduates in the group but they will not count in shaping the instruction. The whole question, therefore, of the entrance requirements turns quite as much upon the proportion of students of different types who will be in residence as upon the requirements set down in the catalogue.

So far as the nominal entrance requirements are concerned, schools of training for social work compare very favorably with professional schools of law, medicine, engineering, and theology. For there are very few schools in which a high school course is the only preparation. The great majority require either two years of college work or else prescribe a "college education or its equivalent."

This contrasts very favorably with the condition of medical education until very recently, and with the present situation in law where out of 142 schools listed in the recent report of the Carnegie Foundation on Training for the Public Profession of Law, only three require a college degree, only 32 (including the above three) require so much as two years of college work, and 19 others require one year of college work. The remaining 91 are satisfied with a high school course, and it is but a few years since any such prerequisite as this has been common. The sting in the requirements for the schools for social work lies in the phrase "or its equivalent," which may have very different meanings at different institutions. And of course if we look not merely at entrance requirements, but at the whole program of professional preparation, including both what comes before the professional school and what falls within the professional school, we have to recognize at once that law and theology, with their fairly standardized courses of three years, and medicine with a similarly standardized course of four years followed by a fifth year spent as interne, present a more solid and substantial professional preparation.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that many of the schools at present have this uncertainty in their entrance requirements for two different reasons. Some instructors in the schools believe that social work is so predominantly personal that a college course is no guarantee that the student

will be successful in the work of the school and its related practical work, and on the other hand, that persons of proved ability in social work, or business, or teaching, or executive work, can master the necessary theoretical work at the schools sufficiently well to justify the practice of making no distinction between college graduates and others. The other reason for the phrase "or its equivalent" is to be sought in the fact that social agencies have not insisted strongly on any type of preparation. Some of the schools, therefore, find that many of those contemplating social work will pass from college directly to apprenticeship with social agencies, and that if they restrict their classes to students with high academic preparation they will have very limited attendance and will seem to be rendering little service to the community. During the recent war many went into social work with very brief preparation, and the influence of these emergency courses will linger for some time. If, however, the social agencies really want well-trained people it is easy for them, even while not excluding the necessary recruits of lower standing, to support the schools in their effort to maintain standards by placing a premium in the way of salary upon well-trained candidates.

As regards the more purely educational argument for "equivalents" it would seem that the extent to which this holds good depends very largely on the degree to which social work is able to use scientific methods, just as the physician was formerly

obliged to rely largely on personal judgment but now can proceed more objectively with blood counts and metabolism tests. In so far as the personal element is still the more important one in social diagnosis and treatment, as it well may be in certain particular phases, then there is nothing more to be said; and of course the exceptional person will get results, particularly in matters that involve dealing with persons, such as education, politics, religion, reform movements. But the general tendency in social work, as in other lines of remedial and constructive efforts, is undoubtedly toward seeking a greater degree of scientific method and depending less upon purely personal gifts. In the second place it is to be said that while it may be well worth while as an educational experiment to try the merits of both types of schools, it will be much better to have these clearly distinguished. Schools which believe that their work can be carried on without regard to differences of academic preparation should experiment further with this plan and check their results. But schools which believe in shaping instruction and practical work with definite reference to academic preparation should pursue this goal in more single-minded fashion. At present in many schools the conditions are so mixed that the nominal requirement of a college course practically counts for little. It is to be feared that the advice, so frequently printed, to take if possible a college course before entering upon professional preparation, loses most of its

force if it is found that the school does not take this seriously enough to insure that a majority of its students shall have had this preparation.

In conclusion, however, despite this uncertainty it may be said that in a few institutions the basis of the work is undoubtedly graduate; that in another considerable group, largely the colleges for women and the state universities, the basis of the school is as definitely on the level of the third and fourth year of the college course; that in a few others there are two fairly distinct groups of students, the larger groups undergraduate, the smaller pursuing graduate courses on a different level; that another distinct group of institutions, such as the Young Men's Christian Association colleges, require at least a high school preparation; that another group such as the courses for public health nurses require equally the special technical preparation of graduation from a nurses' training school; and finally that only a few throw open their courses without making any academic requirement at all. The latter type include, on the one hand, courses organized in a few cities by co-operation of various social agencies to meet their own specific needs for improved training, and on the other, one school of commercial character.

X

SPECIFIC SUBJECTS AS ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS OR FOUNDATION FOR PROFESSIONAL COURSES

THERE are certain specific subjects which it is generally agreed are desirable as prerequisite for professional courses in social work. These may find a place under "entrance requirements" where a given school is either independent of college or university connection or if so connected expects to receive students from other institutions; in the colleges or universities where the professional studies in social work are offered as part of a Liberal Arts or School of Commerce curriculum rather than organized as a distinct school, these specific subjects are likely to be listed as required courses in the earlier years of that curriculum. In any case the important point for our purpose is, what subjects are or should be regarded as prerequisite to professional study in preparation for social work.

Looking at the existing situation in the case of independent or quasi-independent schools, we find the actual facts as to quality of preparation as uncertain as we found them as to quantity. Most schools of this type recommend in preparation for

social work courses in biology, psychology, economics, political economy, history, sociology, but very few require them. Some do require them for a degree or diploma but not for attendance. The institutions which can most easily make and enforce requirements are colleges which offer the professional courses in the last undergraduate year. The students who take this last year's work have for the most part taken the previous three years in the same college, and to a considerable degree have been under the guidance of a system of group requirements, or of advice by the Dean, which insures an orderly sequence leading up to the course for senior year. In the case of graduate schools connected with universities, it is practicable without imposing too great hardship to require that a student who has not had a grounding in these subjects shall take them in connection with his professional work and shall postpone the degree until these have been absolved. With the independent schools it is much more difficult to insist that the student shall make up elementary work which he has not already taken. Students who are planning to enter upon a career of social work may be advised to lay a foundation of these studies, and no doubt those students who look forward definitely to this career will for the most part select such studies, but many students do not make up their minds to enter social work until about time of graduation, and for them the advice is too late.

The chief difficulty here as in the case of quantitative tests is in the waste involved in dealing with students who have different types of preparation. It is no doubt true that many of the more technical professional courses do not rest upon definite economic or psychological topics or analyses to the degree in which courses in medical diagnosis rest upon specific courses in physics, chemistry, and pathology. Most instructors in professional schools of social work would probably agree that one candidate might have a preliminary grounding in political science, another in economics, a third in sociology, and a fourth in contemporary history, and yet they would together make a tolerably homogeneous group for study of child welfare or the history of charity. It might even be found that individuals who had pursued the same social science in different institutions would differ considerably in the background which they bring. Nevertheless the tendency is undoubtedly toward insistence upon work in at least the above-mentioned subjects.

It seems scarcely necessary to do more than mention the titles of the desirable foundation subjects; yet a single word may be added as to their relation to social work. Stated in the order quite commonly regarded as logical, though not necessarily the order in which they would be taken up in a curriculum, these would run: Biology and Physiology, Psychology, History, Economics, Political Science, Sociology, Philosophy. A word

with regard to the relation of each to social work may be pardoned.

Biology, on the one hand, provides a concrete introduction to the general genetic or evolutionary point of view which is so important in the treatment of all social processes; it is also a foundation for studies in heredity and various problems of population, and for the fields of hygiene, sanitation, and public health.

Psychology has for some time been related to all kinds of educational work, but in recent times has been coming into closer relation with social work in the fields of psychiatry, help to backward or wayward children, vocational guidance, and employment management.

Social Psychology is a border subject sometimes connected with psychology, sometimes with sociology. It considers the behavior of groups, their influence upon their members, the development of mind and personality as affected by social environment, and in general the interaction between persons in any social situation. It is therefore a fundamental tool for the analysis of social situations and for understanding the behavior of groups. It finds place, on the one hand, in work with immigrants, on the other with groups of children; it finds place in interpretation of city-mindedness and country life, of labor unions or of employers' associations, of neighborhood sentiment and of public opinion.

History conceived as furnishing a background

for the life of the present, and not merely as political history, is obviously the complement to the several social sciences—economics, political science, sociology—which analyze our present institutions, social processes, and modes of behavior.

Philosophy in its modern treatment of ethics directs attention to the *mores* of our various groups in society in so far as these reflect beliefs as to what is right or wrong, good or bad. It seeks also to point out the ultimate human values at stake in our methods of carrying on industry, and in the opposing ideals as to government, social organization, legal rights and control, and in all the expressions of changing civilization, including our recreation and art as well as our production of "necessaries."

The admirable report drawn up by the Joint University Council for Social Studies, growing out of a conference called by the Home Office of the British Government to consider the training of welfare supervisors, specifies the following subjects and offers a general statement as to the present conception of social study—or perhaps to state it more cautiously, the present conception of social study when conceived in an enlightened way. Although the authors of the report had in mind the vocational as well as the foundation studies, and were thus envisaging the whole curriculum and not merely the prerequisites, their general statement is in point here.

The subjects as specified are as follows:

(a) An historical account of the origin of existing social and economic conditions, with particular stress on the more recent stages of their evolution.
(b) A description of present-day social and economic life.
(c) The analysis of economic facts, together with an introduction to methods of investigation.
(d) The discussion of the principles and methods of social administration, including industrial law, the functions and organs of local government, and the working of voluntary agencies.
(e) A philosophical statement and examination of social principles, aims and ideals.

The general statement as to the conception and aim of social study is:

Social Study, as it is now conceived, requires that each of the subjects of instruction shall be treated with continual reference to actual social life and its difficulties. For the whole aim in Social Study is to educate the citizen's understanding of the social life of which he is a part; to train and test his judgment in dealing with its complexities—for the good of his neighbor as of himself; to furnish him with a background of fact and ideal which shall throw light on all his practice as an administrator; to increase his power of dealing with people and their present difficulties; and to inspire him with faith in the value of his efforts.

The precise length of time that should be given to these foundation subjects will necessarily vary somewhat in detail, depending in part upon the organization of instruction in the numerous institutions in which this preparation will necessarily be made. The precise amount of time given to each is less important than the point of view.

The question whether foundation sciences should

be taught without any reference to the vocations for which they are a necessary preparation is one of wide application concerning which there is no general consensus of opinion. Some of the fields in which it has been most definitely raised are (1) the teaching of mathematics, physics, and chemistry with relation to vocational work in engineering; (2) the teaching of physics, chemistry, and biology with reference to vocational work in medicine; (3) the teaching of history and political science, as preparation for law; (4) the teaching of economics as preparation for schools of business; (5) the teaching of psychology with reference to a professional study of education.

Under (1) there has been considerable introduction into the subject matter of these courses in pure science of problems taken from the technological field. The California Institute of Technology under the direction of Professor Millikan has undertaken special studies in possible co-ordination. Under (2) the subjects of physics and chemistry are not so much influenced as is biology. Certain subjects in this broad field, such as human physiology, embryology, human anatomy, bacteriology, are undoubtedly taught with reference to the fact that the overwhelming number of students pursuing these sciences are taking them as a preparation to medicine. (3) The influence of law upon the teaching of history shows itself probably in increased emphasis upon constitutional and political history. (4) The reaction of schools of

business upon economics has perhaps been in the direction of the addition of specific courses in banking, in labor problems, and in accounting rather than in the fundamental method of approach. (5) In education the disappointment and disillusionment experienced by teachers who had been led to expect much from the study of psychology and later came to believe that they had been given a stone in the form of a description of the nervous system when they looked for some more nutritious study of human behavior, have been met measurably by a development of educational psychology with its studies of the growth of the child's mind and of the learning process. Is there any lesson to be drawn from these various fields for the foundation subjects of our field?

As yet the number of students who are definitely preparing for social work is not so large in most institutions as to make any clear demand upon the departments of history, political science, or biology, or perhaps of economics unless economics is closely associated with other of the social sciences in its departmental point of view and organization. Psychology and sociology are likely to be more definitely aware of future needs of their students who propose to enter the field of social work. What would seem important to all the social science studies is that, as phrased by the British committee, "each of the subjects of instruction shall be treated with continual reference to actual social life and its difficulties." In particular it

would seem to be the task of sociology to throw light upon the interrelation between individual and group or class, and thus to prepare the student for better understanding of various complex forces playing upon the individual; of the factors which go to make up society; of the things to be reckoned with in considering how the individual may be adjusted to his social environment; and conversely how the social environment may be changed to meet better the needs of the individual.

The situation with reference to psychology is perhaps more difficult. Reaction from the older introspective psychology took at first a rather blind plunge in the general direction of the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system in some cases, and in others of an attempt to analyze out more rigorously the constituent mental elements. Whatever the ultimate value of the results of this reaction, they were of little immediate aid to the student of education, to the parent, or to the person desirous of understanding and influencing individual character or public opinion. More recent tendencies toward studying human behavior, toward discriminating individual differences between persons both as regards native endowment and subsequent development, toward understanding the influence of the emotional life upon our imagery and character whether this be expressed in terms of Freudian wish or of various "drives," and toward mental measurements and tests—all these have in them great promise; but

they are as yet very imperfectly worked out, so that for the beginner they are likely not to be introduced or else to be presented somewhat out of perspective. The social psychology which should accompany these studies of the individual is perhaps still more backward. There is decidedly room for a treatment of the subject more helpful to the social worker. If the social worker were the only one to profit by such a treatment it is perhaps doubtful whether the demand would be felt strongly enough to call out a response, but a treatment of human nature in more concrete fashion with the tools of modern analysis would be welcomed by intelligent parents, by teachers, and by many others as well as by social workers.

The philosophy which should find a place in the prerequisites is elementary ethics. What is necessary here is first of all an understanding of the actual moral standards of the community and of the various groups and individuals in the community. There is no possibility of getting into hopeful relations where a moral issue is involved unless one can first of all get the other man's point of view. In the next place, to learn something of the method of all great moralists from Socrates down, namely, of patient and sympathetic inquiry into the full meaning of what we do; and finally, some survey of the moral aspects of present society which are involved in any adequate account of social problems. A more advanced study of political and social philosophy may well form a

part of the professional course. Whether it be taught under this name or not the social worker will need a philosophy of life and society to enable him to look for the forest as well as the trees, to view in proper perspective the different values which urge their claims, to see life steadily and see it whole.

XI

PROBLEMS OF THE CURRICULUM

1. PRACTICAL VERSUS THEORETICAL EMPHASIS; CENTRAL AND BORDER FIELDS

THE curricula in schools for social work at the present time fall broadly into two types, with various intermediate gradations. On the one hand are the curricula which have been organized with direct reference to specific needs in the fields for which students are preparing; on the other hand are the curricula which are wholly or largely a grouping or aggregation of courses from various already existing departments that were originally planned and developed for departmental or other similar reasons, such as the development of a theoretical field. Intermediate between these two extremes are what may fairly be called organizations rather than aggregations of courses, in which there is a fairly successful effort to map out a scheme covering the fundamental sciences on the one hand, and the important lines of social work on the other.

The origin of the first type of courses is obvious. In a school such as, for example, the Pennsylvania School, which has always been in close touch with the various social agencies of the city and which has drawn upon these agencies very

largely for its staff, it has been natural to shape a curriculum that would lead normally into these various fields of service. As typical both of such a direct influence from practical fields and of a highly specialized subdivision of the curriculum, we may note the ten departments of the Pennsylvania School: family work, child welfare, educational and vocational guidance, social work in hospitals, psychiatric social work, community organization and recreation, social investigation, public health nursing, civic research, and employment management. As another example, the New York School of Social Work announces five main departments: social case work, industry, social research, community organization, criminology. The Department of social case work includes vocational courses in family case work, child welfare, psychiatric social work, and medical social service. Courses in administration of social agencies are also offered which are not placed under any specific department heading. Other schools which do not attempt to cover so many specific fields are no less clearly vocational in the shaping of their curricula. Smith College, for example, emphasizes psychiatric social work and medical social work. Bryn Mawr emphasizes industrial supervision and employment management, while offering also programs in other fields. The extreme case of organization for a single vocational purpose would be the New School of Social Research, which would probably not wish to consider itself a profes-

sional school of social work, although social research is frequently found as a department in the schools of social work. The Bureau of Personnel Administration would likewise hardly call itself a school of social work, but it is interesting to note that its purpose is closely akin to that of the courses in employment management in certain schools of social work.

Examples of curricula formed by grouping courses which had been previously offered as departmental courses in sociology, economics, government, psychology, and the like, are found in a large number of universities or colleges. In some instances they are frankly provisional and intended as a first step toward a clear recognition of the vocational point of view. In other cases they very likely represent the extent to which the institution is likely to develop its work in this field.

Looking at the curricula with reference to the degree to which they emphasize the vocational on the one hand, or the more academic on the other, it is doubtless fair to point out that in all the better institutions this is a difference of emphasis rather than an absolute division. Vocational courses are frequently preceded or accompanied by certain more general surveys of individual and social life; on the other hand, many of the more academic courses have a strong infusion from the practical side, either through actual contact of the class with practical problems or by indirect contact with them through the interests of the teacher.

None the less, there is a very real difference in emphasis.

The defects, for genuine professional training, of a mere aggregation of academic courses are perhaps sufficiently clear without elaborating the obvious. Agencies would hesitate to entrust with much responsibility applicants from institutions where the work was of this kind only, and would very likely class them almost with college graduates who had not had any professional training. It may, however, be said that even these candidates would be scarcely worse off than a considerable portion of the college teachers of the country who begin their work as college teachers without any previous practical experience, and without any training in the art of their future profession as distinguished from knowledge of subject matter.

The defects in the more definitely practical curriculum are not so glaring. They will reveal themselves, if at all, in the long run and in the large, rather than in the immediate unfitness of the student for beginning work. If we think of social workers as helping individuals, or administering institutions or social agencies, the practical and vocational courses meet the more immediate and pressing needs. If we think, however, of social workers as discovering the causes of social ills and as envisaging a better society and devising the constructive measures necessary to bring about social improvements and, finally, as commanding public confidence in the wisdom and desirability

of proposed changes, it is evident that we cannot be content with any set of vocational courses unless these rest upon the broadest scientific foundations, and are themselves conducted in what may properly be called a philosophic as well as a professional spirit.

It is instructive from this latter point of view to consider the situation in both law and medicine, which have had their sharply defined vocational curricula, and which have, with rather rare exceptions, turned out a profession of limited range from both the scientific and the more broadly human point of view. Replying to a stricture upon sociological jurisprudence as contrasted with the practical teaching of law, Professor Roscoe Pound points out that during the past generation, in which the prevailing emphasis has been practical, the legal profession has become so distrusted by the community that great areas of what should be the field of law have been, and are now being handed over to administration. Industrial commissions, agricultural commissions, parole and probation commissions, boards of engineers, boards of arbitrators, are being given tasks which were formerly regarded as the appropriate problems for the courts. "As to new problems such as industrial disputes, no one thinks of referring them to judicial cognizance." Nor is this all. A narrowly trained bench is in part responsible for the decisions which have excited such widespread resentment against the courts.

When a conscientious but narrowly trained bench delivers narrow pronouncements that write the word "can't" over every clause of our constitutions, state and national, we begin to doubt the wisdom of the founders and experiment with political nostrums rather than try the dangerous expedient of insuring that only competent and thoroughly trained lawyers enter the profession that leads to the bench.

Now the danger from a narrowly practical training in social work may not be precisely like that which has deprived the law of so much of its proper field, and yet it is not difficult to imagine a somewhat similar possibility. To whom shall the public look for an authoritative voice upon social problems? The professional social worker cannot expect that skill in the technique of social service will in itself entitle him to utter such a voice any more than expertness in the law is sufficient to win public confidence on the larger issues of justice. For social problems, like problems of justice, involve ultimate ends and values, and no expertness as to means is a guarantee of just and true perspective for these. The public is as yet inclined to be hesitant as to the authority of the social worker. And in a democracy, discounting the contempt which comes from ignorance and the hostility which comes from prejudice, one must after all take account of the opinion of the common man, which does not always attempt to meet the professional upon his own field, but passes a more effective judgment by leaving at one side the profession which is failing to meet

the total situation, and by resorting to other methods, frequently crude and ill-considered, which nevertheless offer some promise of meeting a felt need. To prevent undue narrowing of outlook by keeping contact with the world of ideas on the one hand, and with the great mysterious currents of human life and progress on the other, is an ever-present need.

Looking at the curricula of various schools with a view to the subjects taught, it is evident that there are certain subjects taught in practically all the schools, and that there is a fringe of the border subjects corresponding roughly to the border fields described in Part I of this report. These border subjects appear, some of them in one school, some of them in another. The subjects found in practically all schools (except the schools noted under Class B in our division of schools, namely, professional schools intended primarily for other professions than that of social work) are family case work, child welfare, community service, including recreation, industrial work, social research. The following are also found in a large number: criminology, administration, public health, rural social service, Americanization or work with immigrants. Those offered in relatively few schools are: medical social work, psychiatric social work, social aspects of education and vocational guidance, problems relating to the Negro, civic research.

The schools under Class B naturally center on the special subject of their field, such as municipal

administration, personnel management, home economics for the home demonstrator in rural work, work of the secretaries and leaders of boys' and girls' clubs in the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association.

As regards the more specific courses which would be included under such general titles as those just named, we should find little difference in fundamentals, although in some of the schools there are provisions for more elementary and more advanced courses in family work, and in some cases considerable subdivision, as, for example, under child welfare one institution offers (1) dependent and delinquent children; (2) special handicaps of children other than dependency and delinquency; (3) child welfare; (4) administration in child welfare agencies; (5) boarding and placing out; (6) juvenile delinquency, neglect, and truancy; (7) child welfare in rural communities; (8) child welfare in institutions. As an example of an opposite extreme, one institution offers a training course in family work which extends through twenty-one months, and includes under this one title whatever in the way of subject matter and practical training it is deemed wise to have these students take during this whole period.

It is probably advisable that there should be a considerable amount of variety in programs of different schools. It would be premature at the present time to attempt any hard and fast state-

ment as to what should and what should not be included in the curriculum of a school of social work. The better schools are at work upon this question, and by experiment and conference are likely to make steady progress. It is of course the schools themselves, in co-operation with active and thoughtful practitioners on the one hand, and with advancing scholarship and education in all lines on the other, that must work out the answer. The main considerations that are likely to govern have been canvassed to some extent in Part I, in the discussion of the border fields of social work. The principle there suggested as likely to determine in the long run whether the schools of social work should undertake instruction in the border fields was this: It is probably unwise to attempt instruction in those fields in which a very long period of technical preparation in other lines than the social sciences is a necessary prerequisite. This would apply to the training of a public health physician. If schools for nursing were properly developed, the same principle would seem to apply there, although for the present it is probable that certain schools of social service will continue to give courses of training for public health nurses. Municipal and state administration might well, it would seem, be taught either in a school of social work or in a closely related organization, particularly if the institution were a university. But as yet not much has been done in this direction, and apparently the technical schools for municipal

administration are more successful in securing students.

The subject of rural economics or rural social work is very generally in the program but, as already intimated in an earlier section of the report, it is at least questionable whether any school located in the city can deal adequately with this subject unless both instructor and students have had practical knowledge of the rural situation and of rural psychology.

One specific query is suggested by a survey of existing curricula. In dealing with the underlying problems, both of causation and of prevention or treatment, should not the study of population questions receive additional attention side by side with the study of institutions? Justice Holmes believes

> that the wholesale social regeneration which so many now seem to expect, if it can be helped by conscious, co-ordinated human effort, cannot be affected appreciably by tinkering with the institution of property, but only by taking in hand life and trying to build up a race.

It may be that this looks too far ahead for our present scientific equipment and for our understanding of human motives. But there are indications that we shall be forced to give at least as much attention to this more fundamental and difficult aspect of the situation as we now give to repairing the consequences of bad matings.

It is also a question if what is now known as psychiatry will not in a somewhat different form

come to be introduced as part of the equipment of all those who deal with the dependent and delinquent. More pronounced cases of defect, perversion, or aberration will no doubt need the special attention of the expert, as is the case with acute bodily diseases. But for dealing with the discouraged, the morbid, the too-easily influenced by the gang, and various other common types of difficult cases, much is now available in the conceptions of mental hygiene for the worker who has had previous grounding in psychology.

2. LENGTH OF THE COURSE OF STUDY

Some of the considerations which enter into the determination of the length of professional study have already been noted in the discussion of the question whether the work should be graduate or undergraduate, or in part graduate and in part undergraduate. If the work is conducted as a part of the undergraduate course the general organization of the institution is likely to fix the length of the professional course in preparation for social work. This would mean in most cases that two years—the third and fourth—of the college course would be allotted to preparation for social work as they are now to the more distinctly professional work in engineering, preparation for business, and for agriculture. The content and method of these two years would of course differ from the content and method of courses in an exclusively graduate school, although the titles might be the same.

This would be more strictly true if the graduate school were to rest upon two or three years' work of undergraduate character definitely planned with reference to graduate professional work as is the case in some institutions.

The question as to the length of the course is more in point when we consider the situation where the curriculum is that of a graduate school, whether connected with a university or a separate institution. At present one year is the general rule, the only exceptions being the New York School which has a two-year course and those institutions which offer work leading to an advanced degree. The question has two aspects: on the one hand, what is the real scope of education for social work and does this really call for a one-year course or for more than one year; on the other hand, are the financial and other allied factors of the present situation such that more than one year is not a practicable standard to set.

Looking first at the question on its own merits, candid observers will probably agree that at the outset much uncertainty prevailed as to what should go into the course, and that in some cases more time was given to certain subjects or topics than need be given to them if there were adequate preparation on the part of the students and if the subject matter itself were in a more advanced stage of organization and selection. On the other hand, it has been the experience in other professions that the growth of important material has

been so great as to press steadily upon the bounds which were earlier set. In medicine thirty years ago the medical curriculum, in some parts of the country at least, consisted of two sessions of medical lectures, each lasting four or five months. Even at that time the students sometimes repeated a given lecture course in two consecutive sessions because the lecturers had not enough "stuff" available to last through two sessions. In law the early preference was for a one-year course. It was not until after the Civil War that the two-year movement became general. Not until 1876 was a three-year course established as a regular requirement for the bachelor of laws, although there had been earlier unsuccessful experiments and in some cases a third post-graduate year offered. At present three years is the accepted standard for the leading law schools. If we compare in a rough and ready fashion the subject matter to be mastered by a candidate for social work with the subject matter of theology, medicine, or law, it would seem at first glance that the older professions have a far greater amount to be mastered, for in the past development of law and theology there is a great historical background which is not only of interest as information, but is of great value as embodying the reasoning powers of able minds and, therefore, as providing a training in exegesis, analysis, and reasoning for the tyro. Medicine does not have this historical body of doctrine as an essential part of its training, but on the other hand

it has a great number of relatively distinct bodies of information with considerable differences in the techniques of their experimentation and procedure. Some of these sciences are largely observational, some experimental, and there is a difference in procedure between medicine and surgery. The four years of academic work followed by the one year of interneship are crowded and, even at that, little time is afforded for research in any of the subjects to which the medical student is introduced.

If we compare the field of social study with law and theology, we are at once confronted by the question whether we expect to educate people who will take their profession as seriously as those who expect to rise in the other professions. If we consider it chiefly as an art and a technique, then it may not be regarded as fundamental to understand the Greek theory of a well-balanced society and well-ordered life. We may indeed refer Mr. A. to the tuberculosis sanitarium and Mrs. A. to the legal aid society, Johnny to the probation officer, and Mary to the vocational scholarship committee, without any very deep-going acquaintance with problems of public health or of jurisprudence or of character formation or of public education. But if the larger problems of society are to receive attention, and if we need in social work not merely persons qualified to carry on the existing huge number of institutions, but also the scientist and statesman who shall be able to de-

serve and command public confidence because of trained intelligence and a large view of tendencies and underlying forces, then we are not likely to find one year of graduate work sufficient. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the more competent the student the more worth-while it is for him to take at least two years of genuine graduate work, and in schools connected with universities a few who are especially fitted for research or for social engineering should be encouraged to add the third year which is ordinarily needed for the doctor's degree, although this does not imply that a third year of that work (except for the research type of student) should take the form now considered appropriate for the degree of doctor of philosophy. This degree has been intended to serve as the appropriate recognition of that type of ability and attainment which can be evidenced peculiarly by a dissertation "evincing the power of independent investigation and forming an actual contribution to existing knowledge." To make independent investigation and add to existing knowledge is one great function—many would say the supreme function—of a university. But it is not the only function of a professional school. Even the graduate school of a faculty of arts or science is not solely devoted to research, for it has also the function of preparing teachers for our colleges and the better high schools. To make the degree of doctor of philosophy a prerequisite for a teaching position in our colleges is to put pressure upon all would-be

candidates for such positions to seek this degree, whether they have ability and love for research or not. It is a common remark that many such doctors never publish again. They may have decided ability as teachers or administrators. William James pointed out forcibly the ill effect of requiring such persons to attempt a type of achievement neither within their powers nor best suited to prepare them for their future tasks. The case in a professional graduate school for social work is similar. Just as in a university medical school or divinity school a few students will show fitness for investigation and should seek the degree of doctor of philosophy, whereas the majority will wisely direct their energies along other lines of professional study, so in a school of social work the minority will be of the research type; the majority will be of the practitioner, or administrative, or engineer type.

3. THE SINGLE CURRICULUM VERSUS SPECIALIZED CURRICULA

Should there be one general course of training looking toward social work as a single profession, or should there be several distinct courses differentiated from the beginning looking toward work with children, with families, with recreation groups, with communities; or differently divided as medical workers, psychiatric workers, probation officers, family visitors, and so forth?

This question has a practical and also a theo-

retical aspect. The practical aspect is obvious. Nearly all the schools now engaged in caring for social work offer curricula with certain studies to be pursued by all or nearly all in common, and certain other specified groups of courses designed for the various special fields of social work as suggested above. Some schools concentrate upon a few well-marked types such as public health nursing, psychiatric work, employment management; others include as many as seven or eight types, thus covering all the main divisions of the field. The worker who has taken one of these specialized curricula is likely to be better fitted for immediate service in this part of the field and there is gradually accumulating a body of material in such new fields as penal work, psychiatric work, employment management, community organization, as may reasonably claim recognition.

The theoretical argument for a rather sharp delimitation between the different lines of training is that the occupations are so diverse as to be really distinct in their scientific bases as well as in their techniques and guiding purposes; the single term "social work" as applied to all of them does not really signify any great similarity. To advise a destitute family is one thing; to conduct a city playground is another; to aid a rural community in studying its needs and methods of co-operation is another; to enlist widespread interest in housing reform that shall make possible improved legislation and better architecture is another; to

conduct a reformatory or prison intelligently is another; to analyze the deeper causes of social discontent is another. Nothing is gained by lumping these under one head.

On the other side, it is argued that the general agreement to treat all these as in some sense social work has a real basis. The specific underlying science may indeed be sanitation for one, psychology for another, sociology for another, criminology and penology for another, economics for another; yet the social worker as such is not so much the technical expert in any of these fields as he is the person who is using a certain amount of the elements of these various arts and sciences for a distinctive end.

This argument as to the general purpose is reinforced by an analogy drawn from the other professions. Physicians may devote themselves after graduation to certain special fields of medicine, but they all take a course which leads to the single degree of M.D. It contributes to the standing of the profession in the community that it has this unity. The same is true in the profession of law; one student may devote more attention to certain subjects and another to other subjects, but all are fundamentally lawyers. Engineering has not followed this precedent, but specifies its graduates as civil engineer, mechanical engineer, mining engineer, electrical engineer, sanitary engineer; nevertheless the status of the engineer is easily grasped by the public and essential pro-

fessional unity is maintained. If we wish to secure a single high standard for the education and estimation of the social worker, is it not desirable to aim at greater unity in education and standard, and to leave specialization as a matter of special training to be given in the different agencies in which the worker finds a place?

A school which, like the New York School of Social Service, has a two-year curriculum may aim to combine the two ideas by devoting its first year to a common curriculum of fundamental studies and the second year to a more specialized scheme of several curricula.

A decision as between the opposing views set forth above will depend to a considerable extent upon the views as to the relative importance of education and training already noted. Those who believe in training rather than education as the peculiar task of the professional school would naturally favor making the work bear definitely upon the specific line which is to be followed later. Those who stress education would be likely to insist upon certain fundamentals. But we are not limited to a rigorous, "*either* general principles which shall educate, *or* specialized courses which fit each student for immediate service in the particular branch of the profession which is to be his life work." A school may believe in thorough and fundamental work, but by limiting itself to two or three types of specialization may still achieve fairly thorough work. No exact basis for

estimating the extent to which social workers cross over from one field to another is at hand, but a considerable acquaintance with social workers leads me to think that as yet the boundaries are easily crossed. Societies for organized charity have probably furnished workers more widely to other parts of the field because of the fact that in the past so large a proportion of social workers have begun with these societies. It seems probable that the solution which will gradually be found for this question will be given by the growth of the schools along lines previously discussed. That is, schools connected with colleges, or with universities which place the professional courses for social work in the undergraduate work, should undoubtedly give chief place to fundamental principles and use special problems of children's work, relief work, medical social service, community organization, and others rather as illustrations of general principles and methods than as distinct fields. Undergraduates as a rule are seeking to discover their aptitudes rather than preparing to specialize. They need to explore the various aspects of the field in order to choose wisely what is best suited to their capacities and interest.

In schools connected with universities in which the professional preparation for social work falls wholly or in part in the graduate division, the tendency is likely to be either in the line of emphasizing a single organization of studies looking toward competence in research, or of building up

a fairly strong central nucleus of fundamental studies with a certain amount of electives. In schools not connected with universities but closely in touch with social agencies there is naturally stronger pressure to give training that will fit in easily and directly to the work of such agencies. For most workers of a type already discussed, namely, those who are somewhat mature and come into social work with a background of experience in some such field as teaching or nursing, the most useful course may be one of special training along lines in which they have already shown aptitude. For the student just graduating from college who has promise of more than fair success, there is little doubt that a major emphasis upon principles, and upon the underlying causes of trouble, and a mastery so far as possible of the methods of the fundamental underlying sciences is the more promising course. Schools which wish to attract and hold the future leaders will wisely aim at this type of curriculum. At the same time schools which can furnish the trained worker for the every-day job that lasts week in and week out are no doubt doing useful work which, for the present at least, may well be sustained. To get too far away from the demands of the social agencies might lend further influence toward what is already too prevalent, the tendency of the agencies to take candidates with no professional training at all and depend on the apprenticeship system which is now obsolescent in the other professions.

The general comment that suggests itself to the writer from a somewhat careful study of the curricula of the schools is that at present they are better developed along lines of technique and special training for specific tasks, than along lines of a philosophic view of the social process and social problems. Perhaps this comment will be discounted as coming from a teacher of philosophy. I hasten to say that I do not have in mind courses which would necessarily be labeled "Philosophy": much less do I have in mind the abstract treatment of concepts which has too often stood for philosophy, and for that matter, for economics, sociology, and political theory also. And it is quite natural for the social agency to value the beginner who can at once proceed along the most approved lines to make the "first interview," trace all the relatives near and remote, ascertain all that can be learned from employers, neighborhood, other social agencies, enter up the results accurately and intelligibly on the proper records, propose the obvious treatment, and begin its application. But it is difficult to maintain interest in details unless the larger significance of all social problems is appreciated. It is difficult to avoid depression and discouragement unless one can view our particular conditions in the perspective of history; it is difficult to enlist the highest type of ability for permanent service unless the broader problems are made prominent in the field of education.

XII

PROBLEMS OF INSTRUCTION

1. THE CASE STUDY METHOD

A TEACHER in a given field treads on perilous ground if he attempts suggestions as to instruction in fields other than his own. And besides differences of subject matter there are differences in method due to the personality of the teacher. But certain methods common to several departments of instruction are now under consideration by teachers in the schools, and these invite comment.

The so-called case study method is widely used in the courses on family and individual care which are usually entitled "family case work." As is generally familiar, the particular term "case method" or case study method is borrowed from the law schools[1] and refers to the method introduced by Langdell, whereby the student derives his knowledge of the principles of common law by analyzing decisions of the courts rather than from textbooks in which these principles are stated in

[1] Miss Mary Richmond informs me that the term came into social work training from medical rather than from legal instruction. In any case, discussion as to its pedagogical value has been especially active in the legal field, and the questions raised are I think significant for the teacher.

systematic form, or from the lectures of an instructor who either has himself made such analysis or has, perhaps, deduced his system of principles from supposedly *a priori* principles of justice. It is analogous in certain respects to the laboratory method in natural science, in that both send the student to first-hand sources and both aim to train him in analysis and inference.

There is, however, one important difference. In the use of the case study method in the law school the subject matter or source-material to which the student is directed is not a social situation or an act of individual conduct which is to be analyzed, classified, examined as to its causes, and tested in its reactions to various modes of treatment. On the contrary, the subject matter is the judicial decision and the purpose is twofold: (1) to discover what the actual law is as found in its sources; (2) to train the student in the method of analysis and in the processes of judicial reasoning. It is evident that the first of these purposes is not present in the case of laboratory work, in the natural sciences, or at least if we say the object in both cases is to discover law it is a different meaning of law that we have in mind; it is in the one case to be gathered from the words of judges, in the other from the behavior of things. There is, however, a further specification to be made as to the aim of the case study method in law. In endeavoring to discover from decisions what the law actually is, Langdell and his followers have by no means con-

ceived all decisions to be equally authoritative. Their ideal of a science of law was that of certain fundamental principles expressed and developed in "leading cases," and it was their conception that the critical teacher would not hesitate to point out inconsistencies in judicial reasoning in order to present a more logical development of fundamental principles than many, at least, of the decisions themselves contain.

The case study system in law has undoubtedly revolutionized the teaching of law in the better schools. Nevertheless, after a generation some of its most thorough disciples have begun to find it defective in very important points. While they believe that it is undoubtedly sound in two fundamental aspects, namely, in directing students to sources rather than to second-hand statements in textbooks, and further in training the student to analyze his materials and thus discover and himself apply the processes of judicial reasoning, there are defects which have been variously stated by a series of critics among whom the more important which I have examined have been Professor Redlich,[1] Dean Wigmore,[2] Professor Kocourek,[3] and Alfred Z. Reed in his recent elaborate report for

[1] Redlich, Josef: The Common Law and the Case Method in American University Law Schools. Carnegie Foundation Bulletin No. 8, 1914. For full discussion of this report, see 15 Handbook of the Association of American Law Schools, 1915, pp. 77–118, or 4 American Law School Review, 1916, pp. 91–113.

[2] Wigmore, J. H.: Nova Methodus Discendae Docendaeque Jurisprudentiae, Harvard Law Review, 1917, pp. 812–39.

[3] Kocourek, Albert: 8 California Law Review, 1920, p. 233.

the Carnegie Foundation, Training for the Public Profession of the Law.

Professor Redlich's criticism was that if limited to the case study method the student failed to get a view of law as a comprehensive system. He advocated supplementing the case study method with an introductory survey and, at a later period in the course, with a broader and more philosophical interpretation of the principles in their relations than could be obtained by the study of case after case. More recent critics have called attention to the defects of this method with reference to training the student to conceive what may be called the creative functions of law, that is, law as a legislative process for grasping the needs of human society and framing the proper legislation to meet those needs. It is, as a matter of fact, through legislation that modern law aims to keep up with the advancing needs of society. Study of decisions is scarcely likely to impress the student with this function. In fact it is said to tend in the opposite direction, and to make the student sympathetic rather with the obstructive than with the constructive aspects of law.

Mr. Reed, whose elaborate report, based on visits to 133 law schools and occupying several years in its preparation, is the latest contribution to the subject, names three conditions as essential to the successful working of the case method: First, a group of mature students, preferably college trained; second, that the students should

have time to study their cases in preparation for the class-room discussion; third, an efficient corps of teachers.

> I believe that while in the hands of a genuine scholar, skilled in the Socratic method, the case method is indubitably the best, in the hands of a mediocre man it is the very worst of all possible modes of instruction.

Since the first two of these conditions are not fulfilled in the case of night schools which do not require college preparation, Mr. Reed believes that such schools would do better by using textbook and quiz. He believes that such schools have a legitimate function in training practitioners, although they cannot perform the function of educating profound lawyers.

Ardent defenders, as well as sympathetic critics of the method, agree that it is somewhat of a cold plunge for the beginner, and that frequently it is only at about the close of the first year that the student begins really to grasp the underlying principles in their relations to each other, so that he is able to see the forest above the trees.

I have given considerable space to these discussions of the case study method as used in law schools, not because the problems of instruction in family or child care are precisely similar, but because there are sufficient similarities to make it well worth while for every teacher who employs the case study method to read carefully for himself the pertinent discussions. There are also at pres-

ent certain special difficulties which the teachers in the schools of social service themselves feel.

Beginning with the latter, there is general complaint of the lack of sufficient source material in form which is most desirable for critical teaching, and which can be placed in the hands of all students. Certain case material has been supplied in a limited number of copies and with restrictions as to its use. The lack of a large number of cases for comparative treatment leads almost inevitably to the spending of undue time upon one case. Inability to place a large number of cases in the hands of students for previous study robs the method of much of its efficiency as a training in independent, careful, and rapid analysis. A need so generally felt is almost certain to be met at no distant date. Publication of such materials is an illustration of what has been previously referred to as one of the two great functions of the professional school; namely, raising the standard of the profession through research and publication.

Comparing the more general features of the case study method with the points brought out in the discussions of that method in its application to the study of law, certain comments suggest themselves. The fact that the subject matter in the law school is a decision, whereas in the school for social work it is a diagnosis and treatment, should make it even more natural in the latter case than in the former to view the subject matter critically. In the case of decisions we are, after all,

in the presence of an authority. Later decisions will to a great extent be governed by the decisions in the leading cases studied. The student is then not merely observing how judges have reasoned; he is studying an authority which in great measure prescribes how his own future case will be decided. But no one, so far as I know, would hold that the treatment of a case as set forth in the records of a charity organization is authoritative for the future of even that organization except, of course, in its provision for certain obvious and well-accepted details.

The central emphasis in the judicial decision is not so much on the total situation as on the logic of the judicial reasoning; in the social work case it is on the situation in all its aspects. The question in the legal case is not, Did the decision so deal with the situation as to lessen crime or promote better industrial relations or safeguard democratic institutions? but, What is the law as interpreted and applied in this decision by logical development from fundamental legal principles? In the social work case the decisive question is, Did the family visitor do the wisest thing? In order to do the wisest thing the visitor must undoubtedly reason soundly, and the student's attention will properly be directed to the question, How did the visitor reason? But a number of other factors enter into a wise decision which the judge is not always permitted to entertain—breadth of observation that all relevant facts may

be noted, sensitiveness to the imponderables, a perspective of human and social values.

It is no doubt true that in many a judicial decision the social philosophy of the judge plays an important rôle, although this may disclose itself in the principles which are assumed as a basis of the decision rather than in any open statement. In the social work case the social philosophy does not need to be concealed. In the hands of a competent teacher, there would seem to be no danger that the method would lead to an overemphasis of routine, provided a sufficient variety of cases were considered to impress the student with the complexity of human nature and the often unsuspected possibilities of response. In the hands of a less competent teacher, and with limited material, routine may appear to be the important thing.

As regards the defect in the case method pointed out by Dean Wigmore, namely, that it does not teach the student to look upon law as a constructive process proceeding through legislation for the improvement of human society, I believe that the schools for social work may well consider its bearing upon their own problems. It raises the question which has confronted us at nearly every step in this inquiry: What are the schools aiming to do? Just as the more thoughtful students of the situation in law challenge a system which produces principally practitioners who are "client caretakers," so in studying preparation for social work we must ask whether we are making it the princi-

pal, not to say exclusive, aim to train caretakers, or whether along with this important function the schools aim also to educate social statesmen and engineers. Or, to take the comparison from the medical profession, whether we aim to turn out nurses and physicians who can use the existing materia medica according to approved methods, or to educate also men and women to do the work of research into the causes of disease, and into constructive large-scale methods of prevention such as thus far have been put into operation in the case of only a very few contagious diseases. The bearing of the question upon the curriculum would obviously be, that side by side with courses in the treatment of unfortunate individuals or families there should also be courses dealing with the biological and social forces and processes which give rise to the conditions now existent, and with the possible resources for prevention and improvement. This need is not met by preliminary courses in the social sciences, important as these are. The problem is one rather of what to do, and this cannot be fully appreciated or constructively met until it has been actually faced in the cases which the student comes to know, both as discussed in the class room and as found in actual practice work. Doubtless here, as in medicine, we are still very limited in our grasp of the actual forces, on the one hand, and of genuinely scientific methods of dealing with them, on the other. We are still largely empirical; we are still far from the time

when a community can intelligently deal with itself. Yet notable progress has been made. Surveys have directed attention to elements; methods of publicity are disclosing some of the factors in the formation of public sentiment; legislation is availing itself in some states at least of expert advice; we learned in war lessons of co-operation which are not likely to be wholly lost for purposes of peace; the enormous powers of science have been so impressively forced upon the attention of the world that we are not likely to fall back into quite that depreciation of the expert which has been so prevalent in American life. All these things ought to make, in the long run, for the possibility of what may well be called social engineering. As already stated, it is my conviction that only by emphasizing this side of social work as equally significant with the already well-established functions of caring for unfortunate and delinquent individuals and groups will our schools attract the strongest and best minds.

2. FIELD WORK

Probably no problem gives more practical difficulty to the institutions which are preparing for social work than the problem of field or practice work. For certain institutions the difficulty is one of securing opportunities. This applies particularly to institutions not located in or near large cities. For other institutions the difficulty is of so co-operating with the various philanthropic agencies or

industrial concerns as to make the field work genuinely educational for the student and at the same time sufficiently worth-while to the agency or business, so that the presence of a student is not felt to be an undesirable burden rather than a source of help.

The problem of developing sufficient opportunities for practice work is not confined to schools for social service. Medical schools, law schools, and divinity schools have all felt it. Since courts are public, it is easy for law students to familiarize themselves with certain aspects of the practical side of their profession. In medicine, hospitals and medical schools have grown up largely in independence of each other, and there has frequently been difficulty in making proper adjustments for co-operation. State universities not located in great cities have felt difficulty in securing clinical facilities. The University of Illinois, for example, has its medical school in Chicago, and the University of Indiana has its medical department in Indianapolis. Cornell University conducts a medical school in New York City, although the earlier part of the course may be taken at Ithaca. Medical schools, however, have divided their work into approximately equal divisions. The first two years of the medical course deal with the underlying sciences, for which the institutions can provide laboratory equipment and materials. It is only with the courses of the second half of the curriculum that hospital facilities are necessary.

In social work, on the other hand, it is desirable that certain types of contacts should be made early, in order to give concreteness and significance to the class-room teaching.

Institutions which aim to prepare their students for service in cities are greatly handicapped if they are themselves not located in large cities—unless it should prove that the somewhat radical experiment now being tried by the Smith College school is a satisfactory method of meeting this situation. Reserving this special experiment for a later paragraph, we raise the question whether institutions not located in large cities should not frankly recognize their situation in this respect by adopting some such plans as the following: (a) They may take as their problems rural life and the administration of county and state protective, remedial, or custodial institutions or systems in other than great cities. For the rural problem they need rural field work. As previously suggested, it would probably be unwise for the student even of rural problems to miss entirely the training of a city school; but a city school is not likely to have the atmosphere in which country problems can be fully appreciated or sympathetically dealt with. It is indeed possible, considered as a railroad or motor problem, to send students out into the country for field trips from a city school. But this is a very different thing from having the school itself so situated that the problems of the country are its problems. This is applicable to some ex-

tent when dealing in the country with the familiar city situations of illness, poverty, and ill-cared-for children, but far more when dealing with the broader question of the country community as a whole. As regards administration under state or county, conditions may not as yet in some states be favorable for developing this type of social work through professionally trained workers; but in other states there is already a demand created by legislative provision for county welfare agents, juvenile court probation officers, or officers to administer aid to mothers, and there are indications that the demand for competent persons for a considerable range of state positions will steadily increase.

(b) If institutions located in towns or smaller cities do not see their way to undertake rural or village field work, or practice work in connection with government service or in institutions not located in large cities, they may well limit their program to undergraduate work and advise their students to complete their study by graduate work in institutions which have facilities for field work. The important thing is that they should not give the impression that they are doing what they are not doing.

The Smith College Training School for Social Work has a plan for its practice work which deserves a special note. While it has not been in operation long enough to prove conclusively its value or its defects, it is at any rate an important experiment with a difficult problem. The work is

divided into three periods: a summer session of eight weeks at Smith College in which work is chiefly theoretical; a training period of nine months' "practical instruction carried on in co-operation with hospitals and settlements" in a few large cities; and a concluding summer session at Smith College of eight weeks of advanced study during which a thesis is written on the basis of materials gathered during the preceding nine months, and a case discussion seminar is held based on the students' experience. Those in charge of the school state that the governing motive in this arrangement was not primarily that of providing city field work for a school located in the country, but rather that of providing a more continuous period of practical work than is ordinarily possible when this work is carried on conjointly with the usual full course of class-room instruction. They believe that the intensive opportunity for class-room work is valuable; they emphasize the fact that the nine months' period of practical work is not divorced from theoretical instruction, for their students are expected to follow a case work course of two hours a week throughout the nine months under the supervision of a member of the staff, to read an average of six hours a week from lists related to the courses of the first summer session, and to gather materials for a thesis to be completed during the second summer. There is an obvious difficulty in making arrangements for the supervision and direction of

the reading of the students and their course in case work in several different cities, so that there shall be the same closeness of relationship between this field work and the theoretical instruction which there would be if there were closer contact, and there is also a possible difficulty in maintaining the reading in the case of students who are supposed to be giving practically full time to the institutions with which they are working. This is merely to say that this plan has its own peculiar difficulties, just as others have theirs. But my own attitude toward it would be that of welcoming an experiment in a confessedly difficult problem. The students in their practical work have a more intensive and less extensive experience; they would not ordinarily come in contact with so many types of social agencies. On the other hand, they would secure that opportunity for entering thoroughly and responsibly into the life of an institution or the treatment of a difficult case which it is hard to secure when the student gives only part time or a short block of time to practice work.

Institutions located in large cities have no difficulty in finding opportunities for their students to engage in practice work through the various social agencies. But they have difficulties of their own. Many very efficient executives and supervisors of agencies are not especially fitted to supervise the training of beginners, and many who might do this very efficiently do not have time which in justice to their other duties they can de-

vote to this purpose. Further, they do not feel that they can turn over difficult cases to beginners, and hence are tempted to employ them for rather routine or casual services which have no great educational value. Several of the schools are endeavoring to meet the situation, either by special arrangements with certain supervisors who are in sympathy with the educational problem, or by an arrangement whereby the supervisor shall give the course in the school, or conversely a member of the staff of the school shall hold a position in the agency. The best medical schools are moving in the direction of such an effective joint organization or such directive control over hospital facilities as shall enable the medical staff to select for admission to the hospital those types of cases which are educationally important, and to arrange for bedside clinical work with the educational motive as controlling. The Western Reserve School of Applied Social Sciences in its department of public health nursing has arranged to take the responsibility for a certain quarter of the city. But it cannot be said that as yet there is unanimity of opinion as to the best solution of this difficult problem. Some hold that it is desirable for the students to become acquainted with the point of view and the methods of agencies which are not controlled by schools. This seems to accord a position of superiority to the point of view and methods of agencies, as contrasted with those of the schools, which has very likely been justified in many cases in the past, but it may be questioned as a guide to the future.

At an earlier period a donor desiring to benefit the sick scarcely thought of any other method of securing this end than that of founding a hospital. A new epoch was opened when the Johns Hopkins hospital was organized under the same control as the medical school. Harvard and Columbia are developing in this way. The plans for the medical work at the University of Chicago include this arrangement. These hospitals care for the sick, but they also educate physicians and elevate the level of medical knowledge and practice.

Similarly, donors seeking to relieve poverty, deal with difficult children, or benefit other types of disadvantaged persons have founded societies or contributed to societies already founded for this purpose. If such donors wish to contribute to prevention as well as to relief, if they wish to educate and train a profession so that we can know better how to deal with certain at least of the difficult types, is it not as desirable in the field of social work as in the medical field to place endowments for child welfare, immigrant Americanization, relief of certain groups or classes, under the control of schools or under the control of the same body which controls the schools? This means the co-operation in a far higher degree than at present of the three departments of efforts: (1) relief and aid to those who need it; (2) education and training of those who are to administer this social service; (3) discovery of the causes of trouble and finding more effective ways of preventing or removing it. Is it not worth a trial?

XIII

FELLOWSHIPS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

A SERIOUS practical problem for those engaged in the conduct of education and training for social work and also for those who are seeking to promote the best developments of this work is that of financial aid in the form of fellowships or scholarships. By "fellowship" is generally understood an appointment on the basis of exceptional promise and frequently of considerable actual achievement as shown by an extended inquiry or a thoroughly critical examination of data in some field. A fellowship usually carries with it a considerable stipend. A "scholarship," on the other hand, is quite likely to carry as a stipend an amount sufficient to pay tuition charges or a little more and does not ordinarily call for so advanced a degree of scholarship. The principle involved is not essentially different. The question is whether the schools should make it one of their aims to secure fellowship or scholarship funds in order to enable promising students to prepare for social work who otherwise would be unable to do so, and whether such expenditure of funds is a wise means of raising the standards of social work. In general, law, medicine, and engineering have no

such system; divinity schools and many graduate schools in arts, literature, and science have fellowships and scholarships. The reason is obvious. Law and medicine are supposed to pay a sufficient remuneration to attract students to those professions and to justify the expenditure for three or four years of expensive education beyond the college courses; theology and teaching are not supposed to be sufficiently remunerative to enable the student to feel justified in borrowing money for the advance study which is required. There is perhaps a further uncertain element in the economic status of the families from which these various professions are recruited. There is little doubt that the rank of the two professions of law and medicine, and particularly of law, is high. Perhaps the status is not so high in the eyes of the community in general as that of a successful business man who can "employ" the professional man when he needs him. Nevertheless, law is closely related to government, and the sons of the well-to-do are likely to think of it as a desirable profession. It also has the advantage that it is a valuable training for certain lines of business. Many heads of corporations have had legal training. On the other hand, very few from well-to-do families enter the ministry at the present time. The social status has changed since the day when the clergyman ranked equally with the man of authority in political life.

With regard to the teaching profession in which

fellowships and scholarships have played a large part, the same two reasons hold as for the clergy. The social and economic status of the teacher is not in general such as to attract children of well-to-do families. This is notably true of the positions in the public schools, but even in the case of college and university teachers where positions might be regarded as more honorable, the number of teachers who have independent means of support by inherited property or by allotment from their parents is so small as to occasion notice where such members of the faculty are found. Perhaps this remark is more pertinent in the case of men than in that of women teachers, because until recently the professional opportunities for women have been decidedly limited and teaching has been more favorably regarded by daughters of well-to-do families than by sons. Yet the difference between sons and daughters in this respect is likely to become less. In the case of teachers for the public schools it is becoming increasingly difficult in the eastern states to find candidates in the older American stocks. Although salaries in the teaching profession, as shown in the monograph by W. Randolph Burgess entitled, Trends of School Costs,[1] have steadily risen, and until 1915 had been rising more rapidly than the cost of living, they have, nevertheless, not been high enough to make it ordinarily possible for a student without independent means to borrow money for the expenses of

[1] Published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1920.

the three years' professional training beyond the college course unless he would forego the opportunity of establishing a home for an indefinite period.

In view of the two facts cited, namely, that young people of independent means do not ordinarily enter the ministry or teaching, and that salaries in these professions are not high enough to pay for extended professional education, the public has found itself confronted with the alternative either of making such advanced education possible for the kinds of persons who are especially desirable or of finding the supply of candidates for these professions reduced in numbers or in quality or in both.

This does not mean that the system of fellowships and scholarships is free from objection. The most frequent and obvious objection is that in the long run the best way and the only satisfactory way to meet the pecuniary difficulty in professions which are underpaid is by an increase of salary in these professions—not through grants of aid to students in preparation for these professions. For by granting aid to candidates we increase the supply and thereby tend to keep salaries low. A further objection is closely allied to the one just stated: the most capable and vigorous will find the way to enter the profession of their choice; grants of aid are not necessary in their case but will dilute the profession with persons of less capacity and vigor, and thus in the long run will tend to lower

salaries and lower the status of the profession instead of raising it.

These criticisms are undoubtedly just if a system of aid is administered on a wrong basis; if, as has at times been the case, the system is administered with lax standards for the purpose of swelling the numbers of students at an institution where the facilities for instruction and study would not of themselves be a sufficient attraction. In other words, fellowships and scholarships are wasted or worse if they are used, not to raise the level of ability in a profession by making it possible for the right kinds of persons to enter it, but to aid institutions in their competition for students beyond what the merits of the institutions deserve. The better institutions have recognized this evil and have taken means to protect both themselves and the profession of teaching by strict standards.

It is also to be freely granted that in the long run the salary which can be counted upon through one's working period is the main pecuniary consideration. If this is not adequate to maintain an unmarried person in the earlier years and to make possible the establishment of a home after a reasonable period, no pecuniary aid during the period of preparation will be of much importance. Such aid would only increase the "labor turnover" in the profession by bringing into it persons who will become dissatisfied and feel compelled to leave it later.

Turning now to our specific question as to the

desirability of fellowships and scholarships in aid of those preparing for social work, we have to consider the following questions: (a) Is the profession such as to render such aid desirable? (b) If such aid is desirable, under what conditions should it be administered in order that it may contribute to improvement in the standards and status of the profession rather than to the injury of the same?

(a) Comparing the profession of social work with the two types of professions considered above, namely, those in which for the most part there is no system of fellowships and those in which there is, it is evident that social work is more closely related to the second type. As regards its social status, it is undoubtedly less fixed than that of the older professions. In one respect it might seem to involve less change of social position for a young woman of a well-to-do family to enter social work than to enter teaching, for women of wealth have frequently undertaken social work, and in particular churches have impressed upon their wealthy members the duty of giving not merely money but some of their personal service in this field. There is also as compared with teaching a somewhat greater flexibility and opportunity for initiative. Another element not wholly negligible is that as compared with teaching there is opportunity to meet men and women of various walks of life and to consider the economic, social and civic problems of the day, whereas the woman teacher is usually

limited in her professional contacts to children and a very few others, and is less occupied with problems that are uppermost in the world at large. In the case of women a further consideration might justly be entitled to some weight. It is difficult for a woman in the teaching profession to have both a home and a professional career. Some school boards and institutions of higher learning definitely discriminate against married women as teachers, either because it is the belief that married women cannot bring adequate time and strength to their teaching or for the less creditable reason that jobs ought to be given only to those who have no other means of support. Owing perhaps to the fact that social work is fortunately not as yet so thoroughly institutionalized as is education, there is not, so far as I have been able to learn, the same discrimination against married women, and it is to be hoped that the policy, which in the profession of teaching tends to discourage the establishment of homes or to exclude from the professions persons who desire a home, may not make its way into the profession of social work. Certain kinds of social work are not easily compatible with home life, but with some flexibility in the length of the working day, such as is more easily possible in social work than in the school room, there would seem no reason for regarding social work and home life as mutually exclusive.

In the case of men, social work must compete with a larger number of professions and other oc-

cupations. Aside from the question of salary which will be considered in the following paragraph, there are various factors which at present make the profession less attractive than some others. It has not the general prestige of close connection with government and affairs which attaches to law, nor the repute for scientific attainment which belongs to medicine, nor the established body of scientific material which underlies engineering, nor the combined esthetic and scientific appeal of architecture, nor the long-established position in the community which is held by the ministry, nor the opportunity for research and publication and for contact with human beings on their best side which is offered by the work of the teacher in its more favorable aspects. In general the types of men who would go into the ministry or teaching are more likely to be attracted toward social work and to make a success in it. The person who likes executive work purely as such and is highly successful in it, is likely to find such superior opportunities in the business field as to make it unlikely that he will remain permanently in social work.

We come then to the pecuniary status, and ask whether this is such as to make the grant of aid to certain types of candidates desirable or not. It may be stated without discussion that the profession of social work is never likely to compete in a purely pecuniary way with the business world, and perhaps not for a long time to come with either law

or medicine. There are undoubtedly demands for a high grade of equipment and intelligence, but in the nature of the case the results are so much less obvious than in certain lines of business that payment can hardly be expected to be made correspondingly great. When the executive of a railway or manufacturing corporation can change annual deficit into annual surplus, when a lawyer can protect vast property interests, or a surgeon by an operation can save a life, it is clear that no objection will be found in the way of liberal compensation. The wastes from poor teaching or inferior administration of public institutions and privately contributed relief and service are less easily measured and less striking. And perhaps there is a permanent truth in the doctrine of Plato that our "guardians," i. e., our rulers, teachers, and religious leaders ought not to be allied with the property-owning class, but ought rather to be immediately dependent upon the public for their support. We no longer allow rulers or judges or soldiers to collect indefinite wealth through their positions, but restrict them to salaries intended to give them support but not property. But, on the other hand, the social worker, like the clergyman and the teacher, does need to be assured first of support and then of such opportunities for study and travel, for professional contacts and needed recreation, as to enable him to be a self-respecting member of the community with a scale of living equal to that in the groups with whom he needs to associate.

The conclusion is that neither the exceptional intrinsic attractiveness of the profession nor the salaries paid in it are likely to bring to the profession all the recruits of able young men and women that it is desirable to obtain.

It may further be remarked that young men or women just graduated from college are likely to have reached about the limit of their own or their family resources unless they come from more than ordinarily well-to-do families, and that even in this latter case they are likely to hesitate to make further demands. It is on the whole a wholesome attitude of mind which leads young men and women to desire to enter at once some self-supporting line of work.

All the above considerations must be faced when we search for the best means of recruiting the profession. The general deductions are supported by actual facts. Very few young men at present are entering the field of social work, and the supply of well-qualified young women graduates of the colleges is much less than the needs of the various agencies. The number of desirable candidates is also less than the capacity of the schools of professional education and training.

(b) If, then, we assume for the moment that there are good reasons for aiding desirable candidates to study for the profession, provided aid can be administered under right conditions, let us consider what these conditions are. They may be

very briefly stated, as they are scarcely open to controversy.

(1) Aid should be granted only to candidates of superior ability and promise as tested by a high standard of scholarship, initiative, and energy, with good health as an essential. In the case of college students at institutions of the better type it is not difficult to secure adequate data. In the case of students from institutions of less rigorous standards, personal evidence in the form of written papers or similar tests may be necessary.

(2) Aid should be granted for study at only such institutions as offer proper facilities and equipment in staff of instruction, library, and opportunities for field work. Fellowships and scholarships to divert students from better to inferior institutions are misapplied. It should go without saying that "better" does not necessarily mean "larger," and that "opportunities for field work" does not necessarily mean location in a great city, although the great demand at present is undoubtedly for urban rather than for rural workers.

(3) Such aid should ordinarily be limited to graduate work; the bachelor of arts degree has in itself considerable economic and social value, and students are liable to set this as a goal in any case. The critical point is at the completion of the undergraduate course when the student is considering the possibility of further training.

(4) The stipend should be sufficiently large to make it possible for the candidate to study without

constant financial worry, and without devoting so large a proportion of time to outside work as to interfere with the main purpose of the professional study.

(5) Where such aid is given by some social agency which expects a return in the form of part-time service, this service ought not to be merely routine but should contribute to the education and training of the candidate. Distinction should be made between service that may be connected with a fellowship and service of a non-educational type. For example, a graduate student may earn money in various outside ways to help meet expenses; he may sing in a choir, or teach an evening class, or act as salesman on Saturday evenings, or work for a charitable agency. And in a similar way the social work agency may employ a student for any kind of work which that student can do, whether it is helpful to the student or not, provided the work is on a strictly commercial basis of so much pay for so much service at current market rates. A fellowship or scholarship, however, should not be confused with this type of work, since it should be granted only to a person of superior ability, and any service rendered in connection with it should not be regarded as a commercial equivalent of the scholarship. The purpose of the fellowship or scholarship is not to get work done, but to encourage desirable persons to enter the profession.

The existing institutions seem to be able to provide for more students than are at present

enrolled. For the immediate future, therefore, the best means of improving the standards and equipment of those entering the profession would seem to lie not in the establishing of additional professional schools, but in (1) improving the staff and equipment of schools already established, and (2) offering fellowships and scholarships under rigorous standards in order to encourage the most able and promising young men and women to avail themselves of existing opportunities.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SALARIES IN SOCIAL WORK

ALTHOUGH the subject of salaries does not fall within the scope of the main purpose of the study, it is believed that information as to (1) correlation between salaries and previous education, and (2) range of salaries in typical fields, will be of interest to those responsible for directing the work of schools of social work, to those concerned with recruiting the profession, and to those who are considering social work as their own future occupation.

Salary is not an adequate criterion of the value of education and training. Nevertheless, salary is one method of measuring the value which is placed upon both general education and specific vocational training by administrative authorities, and since most persons who consider social work as a profession have to be self-supporting, it is reasonable that they should wish to know what to expect.

1. RANGE OF SALARIES IN RELATION TO PREVIOUS EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE

To discover what salaries are being paid in various fields of social work, and to find out what correlation obtains between education, experience, and salary, a study was made of 475 positions filled during the year 1920 through the National Social Workers' Exchange[1] in New York City. Cards on file showed the previous education and training on the one hand, and previous experience on the other, of those who were appointed to these positions. It is probable that, since many of these positions were in New York and vicinity, the median salary paid was somewhat higher than would be paid in similar

[1] Now the Vocational Bureau of the American Association of Social Workers.

TABLE 1.—SALARIES OF WOMEN WHO OBTAINED POSITIONS IN SOCIAL WORK THROUGH THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS' EXCHANGE IN 1920 CLASSIFIED IN RESPECT TO EDUCATION AND PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL WORK

Education	Previous experience in social work								Total number
	None or less than one year		One year but less than three years		Three years but less than five years		Five years or more		
	Number	Median annual salary	Number	Median annual salary	Number	Median annual salary	Number	Median annual salary	
Classified as to college education									
Graduate	41	$1,242	53	$1,583	45	$1,827	30	$2,080	169
Non-graduate	21	1,151	31	1,570	29	1,813	37	1,879	118
No college education	14	980	41	1,370	34	1,580	52	1,592	141
Total	76	..	125	..	108	..	119	..	428
Classified as to school of social work training									
Graduate	18	1,367	24	1,800	26	1,867	16	1,933	84
Non-graduate	11	1,150	27	1,450	24	1,600	33	1,900	95
No school of social work training	47	1,045	74	1,518	58	1,593	70	1,777	249
Total	76	..	125	..	108	..	119	..	428
Special training, but not at school of social work	28	1,100	51	1,519	42	1,600	48	1,850	169

Median salary for total group of 428 women, $1,578

positions elsewhere. It is unfortunate that the number of men was so small (47 out of 475) as to make statistical comparisons concerning them less valuable than those concerning women. Attempts were made to compare the salaries in different fields of social work, as for example, the salaries obtained in social research, in family care, in public institutions. It was found, however, that the size of salaries depends not so much upon the type of work as upon the sex, education, and experience of the worker.

Tables 1 and 2 show the most important facts as to the above 475 cases in condensed form. The precise grouping under "Years of experience" was determined by the desirability (1) of making groups of such a size as would minimize the effect of exceptional cases or accidental circumstances in one group as compared with another; and (2) of making such divisions as would correspond approximately to real differences in the value of experience. For the women, it is believed the result is fairly satisfactory in presenting a typical view of the situation; for the men, the result is less satisfactory because of the small number of cases represented. The small number of men is the reason for the difference in the division of years of experience in the two tables. There were enough women to make a division into four groups on the basis of length of experience. While a similar division for the men was found to be misleading, division into three groups seemed significant.

As an example of the kind of fallacy that should be avoided, it may be remarked that comparison of salaries of all college graduates with salaries of all persons who had no college education appears only slightly favorable to the college graduates. An inspection of the years of experience of these two groups, however, shows that a far larger proportion of beginners is found in the college-graduate group; of the class with five years' experience, on the other hand, the largest number is in the group with no college training. Table 1 shows in the college-graduate group for the women 41 beginners in com-

TABLE 2.—SALARIES OF MEN WHO OBTAINED POSITIONS IN SOCIAL WORK THROUGH THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS' EXCHANGE IN 1920 CLASSIFIED IN RESPECT TO EDUCATION AND PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL WORK

Education	Previous experience in social work						Total number
	None or less than one year		One year but less than five years		Five years or more		
	Number	Median annual salary	Number	Median annual salary	Number	Median annual salary	
Classified as to college education							
Graduate	2	$2,400	15	$2,580	10	$4,333	27
Non-graduate	2	1,100	7	1,950	9	3,125	18
No college education	..	..	..	..	2	2,600	2
Total	4	..	22	..	21	..	47
Classified as to school of social work training							
Graduate	1	2,400	3	3,500	3	4,500	7
Non-graduate	..	..	6	2,400	5	3,667	11
No school of social work training	3	1,250	13	2,500	13	3,125	29
Total	4	..	22	..	21	..	47
Special training, but not at school of social work	..	..	3	2,100	4	2,700	7

Median salary for total group of 47 men, $2,591.

parison with 30 who had five or more years' experience; and in the no-college-education class, 14 beginners in comparison with 52 who had five or more years' experience. The only fair comparison, therefore, is between persons of equal length of experience.

One point of importance is obviously not shown by these tables, namely, the types of positions filled, that is, whether executive, supervisory, or other. To a considerable extent, however, the differences in type of position correspond to the differences in education and experience of persons appointed. Exact data as to the range of salaries for different grades of positions in the important field of family case work are presented in Tables 9 and 10, and may be compared with the figures here presented.

In brief, Tables 1 and 2 indicate (subject to the reservations already noted) that in this group of 475 persons,

(1) the salary of the college graduate in social work begins at a higher point than that of the non-graduate, which is in turn higher than that of the person with no college training;

(2) this relative superiority is somewhat greater in the division of those having longest experience;

(3) a similar initial advantage exists in the salary of the graduate over the non-graduate of schools of social work, and of both of these over the salaries of those who have had no training in a school for social work;

(4) those who have had training in schools for social work are in an advantageous position in each of the divisions based on experience as compared with those who have had no such training, although the margin of advantage tends to decrease with length of experience. The reason for this is probably to be found in the fact that those who have had longest experience, and presumably receive corresponding recognition in salary, entered the field of social work prior to the establishment of professional schools of social work.

The relative advantages of college education and special training show more conspicuously in the case of the men than in that of the women, but as pointed out the figures for the men represent such small numbers that this difference can hardly be treated as important. So far as it can be trusted to indicate anything, it probably indicates that the value of education and special training is more generally recognized in appointments to executive positions, since it is well known

TABLE 3.—ANNUAL SALARIES OF 475 PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BY COLLEGE EDUCATION AND SEX, 1920

Annual salary	No college education		College education				All workers	
			Graduate		Non-graduate			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
$600 to $799	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	4
800 to 999	0	10	0	8	0	8	0	26
1,000 to 1,199	0	14	0	16	1	14	1	44
1,200 to 1,399	0	26	1	27	2	15	3	68
1,400 to 1,599	0	37	0	30	1	20	1	87
1,600 to 1,999	0	38	0	41	4	34	4	113
2,000 to 2,399	1	11	2	23	1	15	4	49
2,400 to 2,999	0	1	8	17	4	9	12	27
3,000 to 3,999	1	2	8	5	4	2	13	9
4,000 to 4,999	0	0	4	0	1	0	5	0
5,000 or more	0	0	4	1	0	0	4	1
Total	2	141	27	169	18	118	47	428

that in social work a larger proportion of the men than of the women engaged in social work is found in executive positions.

Table 3 is intended to present the salary data for these same 475 cases in a different arrangement, primarily for the sake of comparison with somewhat similar data presented in Table 4, which is reprinted from a study made by Edward T. Devine and Mary Van Kleeck in 1915.[1] The latter study included

[1] Positions in Social Work, A Study of Salaries. . . . of Professional Workers in Unofficial Social Agencies in New York City. New York School of Philanthropy, 1916.

740 cases and presents a group of somewhat similar size. The salaries reported in Table 4 were for social workers in or near New York City, and hence are fairly comparable in this respect with those presented in Tables 1 and 2, and again in Table 3.

Comparison of Tables 3 and 4 shows that the range of salaries made a decided advance during the five years which elapsed between the two studies. The largest groups among

TABLE 4.—ANNUAL SALARIES OF 740 PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY COLLEGE EDUCATION AND SEX, 1915[a]

Annual salary	No college education		College education				All workers	
			Graduate		Non-graduate			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than $300	2	8	..	2	..	..	2	10
$400 to 599	2	32	..	13	1	4	3	49
600 to 799	18	108	9	39	5	11	32	158
800 to 999	6	79	7	39	1	9	14	127
1,000 to 1,199	1	46	4	32	1	5	6	83
1,200 to 1,399	6	46	10	35	3	12	19	93
1,400 to 1,599	2	10	4	21	..	2	6	33
1,600 to 1,999	2	10	5	8	1	2	8	20
2,000 to 2,399	1	3	9	1	1	7	11	11
2,400 to 2,999	3	..	15	2	..	..	18	2
3,000 to 3,999	1	..	13	2	1	..	15	2
4,000 to 4,999	2	..	9	..	..	..	11	..
5,000 or more	..	1	6	..	..	..	6	1
Total	46	343	91	194	14	52	151	589

[a] Devine and Van Kleeck, Positions in Social Work, page 46.

the women who were college graduates in 1915 are those between $600 and $999. The largest group of women college graduates in the table for 1920 is that receiving from $1,600 to $1,999. The median salary for the 428 women in Table 3 is $1,578; the exact median for the women reported in Table 4 is not stated, but it is approximately $922. Similarly the medians for the several education groups can be approximated

from the figures in Table 4, which permits comparison between 1915 and 1920 salaries in the case of each group. These comparisons are made in Table 5.

TABLE 5.—MEDIAN SALARIES IN EDUCATION GROUPS SHOWN IN TABLES 3 AND 4, BY SEX

Education groups	Men		Women	
	1915	1920	1915	1920
College graduates	$2,289	$3,310	$1,025	$1,620
College non-graduates	1,000	2,400	1,080	1,600
No college education	833	2,600[a]	859	1,500
All workers	$1,395	$2,591	$922	$1,578

[a] Represents only two men, each of whom had more than five years' experience in social work.

It is in point here to call attention to the consideration already referred to, that the large number of beginners among the college graduates studied in 1920 unduly reduces the median salary for college graduates in this group. The justification for introducing Table 3 is solely for purposes of comparison with the corresponding figures of Table 4. The figures probably do show the approximate increase in salaries for the groups specified; they should not be used to compare salaries in the three education groups. For this purpose the classification by education and by length of experience in Tables 1 and 2 should be used. As has already been noted, the figures for men in the 1920 group represent only 47 individuals and are, therefore, not to be regarded as necessarily typical. It should also be noted that the salaries for 1920 are of newly placed workers and on this account they may be somewhat lower than the typical salaries for that year.

Making all necessary reservations, it may fairly be said that

these figures indicate a general rise of salaries in social work between 1915 and 1920 of 50 per cent for the women and probably a greater increase for men. This increase compares not unfavorably, all things considered, with an increase of 61 per cent, which was found to have taken place in teachers' salaries from 1914 to 1920 in a study which included 359 cities.[1]

For comparison between salaries in social work and salaries of high school teachers, the figures in Table 6, quoted from this study,[2] are of interest. As indicating that the preparation of

TABLE 6.—MEDIAN SALARIES OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS IN 359 CITIES FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1919–20

	Men	Women
Teachers in junior high schools	$1,594	$1,278
Teachers in senior high schools	1,880	1,479

the high school teacher is fairly comparable with that of the groups in social work represented in our preceding tables, it may be said that the median number of years of training beyond the eighth grade received by teachers in the junior and senior high schools reported is as follows: in junior high schools: men, 6.86; women, 6.79; in senior high schools: men, 8.40; women, 8.43. Translated into academic terms, these figures would indicate that teachers in the junior high schools have carried their studies through high school, through two years of normal or college training, and in the case of more than three-quarters of them through an additional year of some kind of training. Teachers in the senior high schools would, according to these figures, have typically received the bachelor's degree, and beyond this nearly half of them would have had an additional year of preparation. Teachers in the senior high schools would have had on the average a longer

[1] Teacher Situation—City Schools, *Journal of National Education Association*, January, 1921, Vol. X, p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

period of academic preparation than social workers in the groups studied.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the salaries above reported for teachers are for cities throughout the United States, whereas the salaries given in Tables 1 to 4 above were chiefly for New York and vicinity. Moreover, salaries in social work increase rapidly with length of experience as compared with salaries of teachers. The median experience in the college graduate woman group in Table 1 is less than three years, while the median experience for teachers in senior high schools is probably more than three years. I have not been able to find comprehensive figures upon this last point, but the Report of the Committee on Teachers' Salaries and Cost of Living, issued by the National Education Association in 1913, presented information from five cities in different parts of the country which would indicate a much longer median experience for high school teachers than the median for the group of social workers under consideration.

It may therefore be fairly said that salaries in social work are similar on the whole to those in high schools in the case of women. In the case of men they are probably more analogous to salaries of executives in schools.

This is not equivalent to saying that salaries in social work are adequate. Thoughtful students of the subject are very generally of the opinion that teachers' salaries are too low. In both teaching and social work the presence of a large number of poorly educated and relatively inexperienced persons in the ranks of the professions tends to depress the salary scale. It is a vicious circle. Low salaries keep competent and well-educated persons out of the profession; salaries are not raised largely because of the presence of the less competent and less well-educated members of the profession. But there is no doubt that the extremely low salaries which have been paid in some instances should be replaced by a more adequate scale, and a general disposition to attempt this has been found in many organizations.

2. FURTHER DATA AS TO SALARIES, INCLUDING SALARIES IN CHILD-CARING AGENCIES AND IN FAMILY CASE WORK SOCIETIES

As salaries paid in Jewish social service in New York City were thought to be inadequate, a study of the situation was made in 1919 by a committee of those responsible for the support and direction of this service. As a result of this study it was recommended that an initial salary of $1,200 should be paid to case workers and recreation workers for the first six months, and that promotion should be made each year until the salary of $2,000 was reached at the beginning of the sixth year. It was recommended that supervisors should be paid an initial salary of $1,700, and should reach $2,600 at the beginning of the sixth year.

The Young Women's Christian Association recommends a scale somewhat similar, beginning at a slightly higher point. The Young Men's Christian Association recommends a scale ranging from $1,500 up, with a general average of $1,663 for beginners.

TABLE 7.—AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES IN SELECTED CHILD-CARING AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN 1914 AND IN 1920[a]

Class of worker	Institutions for dependents			Juvenile reformatories			Child-helping agencies		
	1914	1920	Per cent increase	1914	1920	Per cent increase	1914	1920	Per cent increase
Superintendent	$1,756	$2,212	26	$2,125	$2,726	28	$2,376	$3,084	30
Asst. or dist. superintendent	1,097	1,236	13	1,285	1,679	31	1,234	1,724	40
Visitors or case workers	..	..	..	..	..	..	790	1,212	53
Parole or special officers	..	..	..	789	1,148	46	..	..	..
Matron or head worker	519	811	56	607	884	46	660	959	60
Teacher	538	821	53	617	1,105	79	380	750	97
Resident nurse	465	708	52	518	879	70	340	595	75

[a] From unpublished data collected by W. H. Slingerland, Department of Child-helping, Russell Sage Foundation.

Dr. W. H. Slingerland, of the Russell Sage Foundation, has recently made a study of salaries in child-caring agencies and institutions. As a part of this study, he has made a comparison of salaries paid in 1914 and in 1920 by institutions for

TABLE 8.—SALARIES OF OFFICIALS OF JUVENILE COURTS IN 21 CITIES IN 1920

City	Presiding judge	Chief probation officer	Other probation officers
Chicago, Ill.	$12,000	$3,300	$1,320 to $2,040
New York, N. Y.	10,000	3,600	1,350 to 1,860
Detroit, Mich.	9,000	3,000	1,400 to 2,500
Philadelphia, Pa.	8,000	5,000	1,200 to 2,500
Cincinnati, Ohio	8,000[a]	3,000	1,000 to 1,800
Pittsburgh, Pa.	8,000[a]	3,000	1,080 to 1,440
Los Angeles, Cal.	7,200[a]	2,400 to 2,700	1,260 to 1,500
Minneapolis, Minn.	6,300	2,000	1,140 to 1,380
San Francisco, Cal.	6,000[a]	3,000	1,500 to 2,400
Cleveland, Ohio	6,000[a]	3,000	1,000 to 1,800
Louisville, Ky.	5,000[a]	2,400	1,000 to 1,200
Buffalo, N. Y.	5,000	1,740	1,500
Norfolk, Va.	4,500	2,000	1,080 to 1,800
St. Paul, Minn.	4,200	2,300	1,000 to 1,300
Boston, Mass.	4,000	2,200	1,500 to 1,980
Denver, Colo.	4,000	1,800 to 2,500	1,500 to 1,620
Indianapolis, Ind.	4,000	1,500	1,100 to 1,200
Washington, D. C.	3,600	1,800	1,000 to 1,200
Rochester, N. Y.	3,500[a]	1,800	1,100
Richmond, Va.	3,000	1,800	1,800
Baltimore, Md.	3,000	1,500	900 to 1,500

[a] When amount of judge's salary is unmarked, practically his whole time is given to juvenile court matters. When it is marked the information given indicates that some of the judge's time is given to others matters, usually to psychopathic cases, those of adults contributing to juvenile delinquency, divorce cases, and the adoption of children.

dependents, juvenile reformatories, and child-helping agencies, which shows an average per cent of advance from 1914 to

1920 of 43, 42, and 49, respectively. The figures given in his tables are arithmetic averages instead of medians, and in some cases they do not include maintenance, so that the results cannot be directly compared with those for the groups presented in the preceding tables. Nevertheless, the selection from Dr. Slingerland's figures presented in Table 7 affords a view of the trend of salaries in a distinctive field.

From other statistics collected by Dr. Slingerland, the salaries of officials of juvenile courts in representative cities, presented in Table 8, are selected as presenting information concerning an important type of public officials in the field of social service.

TABLE 9.—SALARIES OF EXECUTIVES IN 124 FAMILY CASE WORK SOCIETIES AS OF APRIL 1, 1921

Salary	Chief executive	Assistant chief executive
Over $5,000	3	0
$5,000	5	0
4,000 and less than $5,000	4	1
3,000 and less than 4,000	12	2
2,500 and less than 3,000	8	2
2,100 and less than 2,500	19	11
2,000	16	7
1,800 and less than 2,000	21	7
1,500 and less than 1,800	19	13
1,200 and less than 1,500	12	16
900 and less than 1,200	5	10
480 and less than 900	0	7
Total	124	76

Tables 9 and 10 give salaries paid in family case work societies. They were obtained by the committee on salaries of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. They represent organizations from all parts of the country, and are based on salaries in force April 1, 1921.

They are presented here through the courtesy of the above committee, of which Veronica O. Wilder was secretary.

TABLE 10.—MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM SALARIES OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES AND VISITORS REPORTED BY FAMILY CASE WORK SOCIETIES AS OF APRIL 1, 1921

District secretaries				Visitors			
Maximum		Minimum		Maximum		Minimum	
Salary	Number of societies	Salary	Number of societies	Salary	Number of societies	Salary	Number of societies
$2,260	1	$2,100	1	$1,800	2	$1,800	1
2,160	1	1,800	2	1,740	1	1,600	1
2,100	1	1,680	1	1,680	1	1,500	3
2,000	1	1,650	1	1,620	1	1,400	1
1,900	1	1,620	2	1,600	2	1,320	2
1,800	8	1,500	7	1,560	1	1,300	2
1,600	1	1,440	1	1,500	9	1,260	1
1,560	1	1,400	1	1,440	3	1,200	12
1,500	6	1,380	2	1,400	4	1,140	3
1,200	2	1,300	1	1,380	3	1,080	8
..	..	1,200	4	1,320	6	1,032	1
				1,300	2	1,020	4
				1,200	21	1,000	2
				1,140	3	960	3
				1,100	2	900	14
				1,080	4	840	3
				1,020	1	780	5
				1,000	1	750	1
				900	7	720	9
				840	2	600	1
				720	2	480	1
Total 23 Median, $1,800		Total 23 Median, $1,500		Total 78 Median, $1,200		Total 78 Median, $1,000	

APPENDIX B

ATTENDANCE AT INSTITUTIONS OFFERING PREPARATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

THE two following tables relating to attendance at various institutions offering preparation for social work have been prepared from reports submitted by the institutions enumerated. Effort has been made to represent faithfully the statements of the institutions, but no attempt has been made to go behind the returns. No doubt the figures do not mean precisely the same thing for all the institutions, but they are presented for what they are worth.

The column in each of the tables showing the total number of students enrolled varies in its significance depending upon the nature of the institution. In many cases it is of interest chiefly as indicating a certain general interest in social work among students who will not become professional social workers. More valuable information with regard to future professional social workers will be found in the other columns.

In Table 12, under "Regular," are reported regular students presumably intending to take the full course, or at least a full year, while under "Special" are included special students attending some one or more courses, but who presumably do not expect to complete the full course or a full year. In both tables, in the double column headed "In two-year course," there are reported separately, for institutions which offer a two-years' course as their standard, students who will be candidates for full diploma and those who will not complete the full course but will be candidates for a certificate showing the completion of one year. All the figures are for the year 1922–23, unless otherwise indicated.

TABLE 11.—ENROLLMENT IN SEPARATELY ORGANIZED SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK, INCLUDING SCHOOLS CONNECTED WITH UNIVERSITIES[a]

Institution	Students enrolled			Candidates for graduation				
				For degree		For diploma or certificate		
						One year course	Two year course	
	Total	Regular	Special	Bachelor	Advanced		For one year only	For two years
Bryn Mawr College, Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research	18	13	5	2	5	12	..	1
Carnegie Institute of Technology, Mary Morrison College, Department of Social Work	42	37	5	18	M.A. 1	..	..	1
University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration	72	60	12	13	20	..	..	..
Fordham University, School of Social Service	36	28	..	..	..	..	..	18
Johns Hopkins University	29	23	6	..	M.A. 6	..	..	2
Loyola University, School of Sociology[b]	348	43	305	18	3	12	..	10
McGill University, Department of Social Service and Social Science	15	9	6	..	..	6	..	3
Missouri School of Social Economy	58	36	22	..	M.A. 5	10	..	8
Université de Montreal, L'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Economiques et Politiques[c]	176	24	152	..	..	152	..	7
Université de Montreal, Loyola School of Sociology[d]	17	7	6	..	..	..	1	4
National Catholic Service School	37	17	20	1	M.A. 2	..	..	7
New School for Social Research[e]	603	603	..	..	..	..	..	..
New York School of Social Work	192	163	29	..	..	..	69	26

University of North Carolina, School of Public Welfare [f]	380	14	366	..	5 Ph.D. 1	3	..	..
Ohio State University [g]	44	44	70	17	M.A. 8	..	3	41
University of Oklahoma	300	40	5	10	2	..	..	6
University of Oregon, Portland School of Social Work	53	23	30	3	1	13	3	3
Pennsylvania School for Social Service	682	35	4	..	..	10	..	..
Recreation Training School of Chicago [b]	60	45	15	..	..	14	3	5
Richmond School of Social Work, affiliated with College of William and Mary	45	32	13	1	M.A. 1	7	14	11
Scudder School, New York	27	24	3	..	..	8	..	16
Simmons College, School of Social Work	62	47	15	11	M.S. 6	21	..	..
Smith College, School for Social Work	48	28	20	..	..	..	..	18
University of Southern California, Division of Social Work	110	65	45	18	M.A. 5	23	..	5
University of Toronto	346	45	301	..	..	37	..	8
Western Reserve School of Applied Social Sciences	144	116	28	32 [i]	M.S. 4	..	..	..

[a] Figures are for 1922–23 except as otherwise indicated.

[b] Figures are for 1921–22. Special students taking cultural courses of senior grade, 1,002.

[c] Year not given.

[d] Figures are for 1921–22.

[e] Figures are for the fall term, 1921–22. No degrees, diplomas, or certificates given.

[f] Figures for 1921–22. Additional attendance at short course institutes, 48.

[g] These figures are for 1921–22. Reported for 1922–23, social service students: seniors, 12; juniors, 19; specials, 3; total 34; exclusive of students in College of Arts taking a partial social service course.

[h] Estimated registration for six weeks' summer course, 1923, 60.

[i] Including 13 public health nurses; 19 child welfare workers. Two-year course: family case work without certificate or diploma, second year, 31; one year's work where full course is two years: family case work without certificate or diploma, first year, 31.

TABLE 12.—ENROLLMENT IN SOCIAL WORK COURSES IN INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT A SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK BUT HAVING AN ORGANIZED GROUP OF SOCIAL WORK COURSES, INCLUDING SOME OF DEFINITELY PROFESSIONAL CHARACTER[a]

Institution	Students enrolled		Candidates for graduation				
			For degree		For diploma or certificate		
					One year course	Two year course	
	Total in department	In professional courses	Bachelor	Advanced		For one year only	For full course
University of California, Department of Economics	18	18	..	..	18	..	..
Goucher College	147	81	24	..	..	..	..
Hamline University[b]	18	10	9	M.A. 1	..	..	..
Harvard University[c]	47	17	6	Ph.D. 2 M.A. 3	..	..	..
Indiana University, Department of Sociology and Social Service[d]	113	71	14	M.A. 3	..	..	2
Kansas State University	554[e]	50	..	..	..	..	22
University of Kentucky[f]	25	20	4	M.A. 2	..	..	..
University of Nebraska	25	11	9	..	..	..	..
Syracuse University	64[g]	64	24	2	..	..	..
Tulane University	45	24	..	..	..	..	..
University of Washington	90	25	31	M.A. 7	..	..	..
University of Wisconsin	43	16	15	1	..	..	..
University of Minnesota	76	9	9	..	..	..	..
University of Missouri	65	20	18	1	..	..	..

[a] Figures are for 1922–23, except as otherwise indicated.
[b] Not including ministerial students in training for special work.
[c] Total: Radcliffe, 15; Harvard, 32. In professional courses: Radcliffe, 2; Harvard, 15. Bachelor's degree: Radcliffe, 2; Harvard, 4.
[d] Including departments at Bloomington and Indianapolis.
[e] 554 students are enrolled in the department, of whom 50 are preparing for professional work; candidates for diploma in 1924, 25.
[f] "During the present year these courses are suspended." Figures given are for 1921–22.
[g] "Also about 280 others taking these courses."

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